TWENTY-FIVE YEARS
IN THE
WEST.

E. MANFORD.

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Erasmus Manford

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

IN

THE WEST.

BY ERASMUS MANFORD.

Revised Edition.

WITH

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

MRS. H. B. MANFORD.

BY REV. G. S. WEAVER, D. D.

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TO

MY CHRISTIAN FRIENDS

IN THE WEST,

WITH WHOM I HAVE LIVED

AND LABORED MANY YEARS,

THIS VOLUME

IS DEDICATED.

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS:

CHAPTER I.

PAGE 9.

Parentage and Childhood; "Lord" Timothy Dexter; At School; In Haverhill; Shoemaking; Early Aspirations; Converted; Must be a Minister; On a Plank; Attend School; A Long Walk; Studies with J. C. Waldo and Dr. Cobb; First Preaching; With W. S. Balch; First Tour; First Debate; Came out Second Best; Talk with an Englishman about American Coarseness; Conversation on Slavery; In Maryland; Talk with an Episcopal Clergyman concerning Endless Woe not being Taught in the Old Testament; Traveling and Preaching on the Eastern Shore; Return to Baltimore; A Storm; Where Truth Flourishes and Where it Does Not; Another Location; Self and Faith Abused; Preach in Harper's Ferry, Charleston, Winchester, Va.; A Hard Battle; Cross the Alleghany Mountains.

CHAPTER II.

PAGE 33.

In Pittsburgh; S. A. Davis, Wife and Daughter; The West; Preach in Pennsylvania aud Ohio; Western Reserve; Talk with a Bigot; Conversation on a Steamboat; Forbidden to Preach; Grave Creek; A Mound; My Study; What is Salvation? Proceedings in Bainbridge; Mud; In Cincinnati; General Harrison; In Rising Sun; Patriot; Preach in Louisville, Ky.; E. M. Pingree; On the Mississippi River; Preach in a Steamboat; In New Orleans; Battle Ground.

CHAPTER III.

PAGE 47.

A Sea Voyage; A Meeting at Sea; Tornado; Strange Vessel; In Texas; Travel to Houston; Hard Fare; The Country; Sleeping on the Ground; Very Thirsty; Must Have Water; Colorado River; Sound Asleep on its Banks; Cross the River on Logs; Corn Cake; A Surprise; In Houston; General Houston; The Attorney-General of Texas; San Jacinto Battle Ground; A Pandemonium; Buckwheat Cakes; Embark for New Orleans; A Condemned Vessel; On Allowance; In New Orleans; A Contrast; Ague and Fever; Up the Mississippi.

CHAPTER IV.

PAGE 56.

Labors of E. B. Mann; N. Wadsworth; Owner of a Horse; Preach in Indiana and Kentucky; A Profane Life; General Clarke; Atheism; The Eyeless Fish; A Presbyterian Minister's Wisdom;

No Hell, No Heaven; Travel in Ohio; Another Preacher Replies; Labors in Dayton; D. R. Biddlecom; George Messenger; R. Smith's Somersault; J, A. Gurley; George Rogers; Start for Indiana; Battle in Harrison; Universalism an Old Doctrine, and of God; Partialism an Old Doctrine, but of Satan; Grove Meeting; Father St. John; Badly Treated; John O'Kane on his Creed; In Indianapolis; A. Longley; A Horse; Questioned by a Methodist; In Terre Haute; Very Unpopular.

CHAPTER V.

PAGE 76.

The Carey Family; Journey in Ohio; Intemperence; General Baldwin; In Columbus; Death Penalty; How to Deal with Offenders; Preach in Newark and Zanesville; Hell Discussed; Mrs. Francis D. Gage; Invited to Settle in Marietta; W. H. Jolly; In Chillicothe; Opposition in Richmond; — Webber; In Kentucky; Dr. Chamberlin; Opposition in Lexington; Is Universalism Infidelity? A Slanderous Story by a D. D.; In Paris; Excursion to Patriot; A Discussion; Daniel Parker; Cure the Ague; Good Health.

CHAPTER VI.

PAGE 91.

A Journey East; Talk with a Baptist Minister; Preach in Delaware and Centerville, Ohio; W. Y. Emmett; Doors Closed; A Bond; A. B. Grosh; In New England; On the Sea; A Storm; Methodist Preacher Frightened; Blow the Trumpet; In Philadelphia; In Delaware; In Pittsburgh; Return to Cincinnati; Go to Chicago; Bad Roads; In Richmond; Talk with a Quaker; A Spirit Returns to Earth; A Spirit Out of the Body; A Strange Sight; Preach in God's Temple; Preach in Chicago; Preach in Joliet; Aaron Kinney, an Early Preacher; Bill of Fare; Hard Luck in Magnolia; Why Preach; In Hennepin; Political Humbugs; Opposition in Washington; Justice of God; In Pekin and Tremont; Frozen; A Preacher Replies.

CHAPTER VII.

PAGE 108.

Locate in Lafayette; The Christian Teacher Commenced; A Circuit; Society Organized; Meeting-house Built; All Alone; Conflict in Frankfort; Old Testament Doctrine of Punishment; Debate Proposed in Frankfort; Discussion in Independence; Character of my Sermons; Slander Refuted; Debate in Burlington; Endless Woe; Some Voting; The Use of Discussion; A Traveler.

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE 124.

Debate in Lafayette; Die in Adam; Alive in Christ; This World and World to Come; Battle Ground; In Monticello; A Reply; A

Preacher Whipped ; D. Vines ; S. Oyler ; I. M. Westfall ; B. F. Foster in Indiana ; Revival Poetry ; Ladoga Camp-Meeting ; Worship ; In Michigan City ; An Episcopal Preacher ; A Wet Ride ; Debate in Dayton ; Discussion in Jefferson ; Everlasting Punishment ; End of the World ; Second Coming of Christ ; Eternal Life ; Meaning of Everlasting.

CHAPTER IX.

PAGE 146.

Questioned J. O'Kane in Dayton ; He Beat a Retreat ; He Replied in Crawfordsville ; Three Resurrections, National, Moral, and Immortal ; Conversation in West Lebanon ; Everlasting, Forever ; Kingdom of God ; Sin, Error, Suffering not Endless ; In Southern Indiana ; Why Live a Christian Life? Bigotry in Breckenridge ; Discussion with Mr. Dickerson ; Calvinism ; Arminianism ; Universalism ; Debate in Chambersburg.

CHAPTER X.

PAGE 167.

Move to Terre Haute ; Lecture in Fort Wayne ; A Discussion There ; Dr. Thompson ; Visit Illinois ; Opposition ; Discussion in Charleston ; Prayed For ; Called Infidel ; Debate in Green Castle ; Conditions of Salvation ; God's Will ; All are Spirits ; Form of The Teacher Changed ; J. Burt and J. H. Jordan, Editors ; Oliver Cromwell ; Foundation of Character ; In Many Places ; A Celebration ; Meeting in the Rain ; Fourth of July Celebration ; Debate in Martinsville.

CHAPTER XI.

PAGE 178.

Journey into Northern Illinois ; Temperance Lecture ; Result of Temperate Drinking ; Married ; Homeward Bound ; High Waters ; Difficult Traveling ; Trouble in Crossing Streams ; A Cold Bath ; End of the "Bridal Tour ;" A Hard Ride ; Debate with E. Kingsbury ; In Northern Indiana ; Conversation with an Indian ; Dark Man and Dark Night ; Explanation of Hebrews ix, 27, 28 ; End of the World ; The Earth and Man.

CHAPTER XII.

PAGE 200.

Discussion in Franklin ; Justice of God ; What the Gospel Is ; Society Organized ; Discourse on Total Depravity ; Conversation with a Presbyterian Minister on Christian Rewards ; Talk with a Catholic ; A Methodist ; A Preabyterian ; A Disciple ; Salvation ; A Mormon Sermon ; Reply to it ; A Journey to Louisville and Cincinnati.

CHAPTER XIII.

PAGE 219.

Move to Indianapolis ; Extensive Traveling ; Henry Ward Beecher; A Fossiled Calvinist ; Supposed to be an Orthodox Preacher ; Debate in New Philadelphia ; Strife Between the North and South ; The Old Convention Dead ; The New Convention Organized ; Discussion in Springfield, Ill. ; Abraham Lincoln ; God is Love ; Is Merciful ; Is Just ; Is Holy ; Travel in Illinois ; Conversation with a Presbyterian Clergyman on the Origin of Hell ; In Iowa City, and Other Places in Iowa ; Home Again ; W. J. Chaplin ; Discussion with Benjamin Franklin ; Debate in Covington ; Discussion with Mr. Russel ; Publish the "One Hundred and Fifty Reasons"; Review of "Universalism Against Itself"; Publish Another Book ; Olive Branch Discontinued , Travel Far and Near.

CHAPTER XIV.

PAGE 239.

Conclude to go to St. Louis ; Commence the Golden Era ; Association in Crawfordsville ; Debate in Dayton ; Man in God's Image; God the Father of All ; Man Immortal ; Man a Spirit ; High Waters ; In St. Louis ; Why Moved to St. Louis ; But Few Friends ; First Journey in Missouri ; Wet, Hungry, Out in the Cold ; In Troy ; In Ashley ; Four Brothers ; In Louisiana ; Opposition in London ; In Hannibal ; Good Friends ; Questioned In Palmyra About Slavery ; Conversation on Judgment ; In Memphis ; Questioned ; A Presbyterian Preacher Replied ; Was to Debate in Newark ; Covered with Ice ; Missouri River ; Discussion in Georgetown ; In Southern Missouri ; Questioned in Warsaw ; In Jefferson City ; Hard Work in Danville ; Return to St. Louis.

CHAPTER XV.

PAGE 259.

The Golden Era Issued Semi-Monthly: The Missourians ; Slave Holders ; Travel in Southern Missouri ; If Endless Woe is True all Nature would Weep ; Region of Iron ; Dunkers in Millerville ; In Southern Illinois ; Philosophy of Christ Being the Savior of the World ; Refuse to Debate ; Discussion in Carlyle ; Inspiration ; Our Name ; Partialism Approaches Infidelity ; Three Downward Steps ; Reply to a Sermon ; Hayne's Sermon ; Mr. Lewis Debating on his Knees ; Written Discussions with two Methodist Ministers ; In Northern Missouri ; A Preacher Replies ; A Log Cabin ; Talk with a Slave ; Thomas Abbott ; Negroes Hung ; The Golden Era ; Mrs. Manford Lecturing ; Let Women Work ; A Circuit in Missouri ; Travel in Cold Weather ; Debate in Quincy.

CHAPTER XVI.

PAGE 258.

The Golden Era; Extensive Traveling; In Missouri and Kansas; Talk with a Deist in Jefferson City; Moses; The Prophets; Replied to in Pisgah; Talk with a Rum-seller; In Kansas City; In Wyandotte; Conversation with a Clergyman Concerning Christ and His Work; Lectured in Leavenworth; Destruction of Man's Enemies; In St. Joseph; The Mercy of God; In Kingston; Rich Man and Lazarus.

CHAPTER XVII.

PAGE 301.

The Rebellion Commenced; What Senator Douglas Said; Defenders of our Country; Camp Jackson; Rebel Flag; Great Expectations; Subscribers Lost; Money Lost; All but Two of the Religious Journals Stopped; Could do but Little in Missouri; Society in St. Louis; G. S. Weaver Left; The Unitarian Society; Published Pamphlet on Water Baptism; Discussion with B. H. Smith; Extracts from the Discussion.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PAGE 322.

Discussion in Pontiac; The Apostle's Faith; His Argument in Romans; Extensive Traveling; In Kansas and Missouri; Price's Raid; In Ohio and Indiana; Dark Night and Walk near Toledo; Conversation on Destructionism; The Victory; The Death; President Lincoln; Debate in Milford, Ohio; The Restitution an old Doctrine; The Sentiment Wide Spread: At Work in Iowa; Laborers There; Murderers Saved and the Murdered Lost; Intellectual and Moral Growth; What Man Was; What He is to Be; The Victory; Spiritualism; Immoral Preaching; Saved Without Repentance; Preaching a Means of Salvation; A Methodist Minister Believes; The Suicide.

CHAPTER XIX.

PAGE 354.

In Galesburg, Ill.; The United States Convention; Lombard University; Other Schools; Journey to Missouri; In Macon City; In Brookfield; St. Joseph and Other Cities; Grove Meeting; On the Missouri Bottom; Beautiful Country; Preach in Fillmore and many other Places; Return Home; Anti-Orthodox Preaching; Funeral Sermons; Death; Life; Discussion with Frank Davis; Two Discussions with J. S. Sweeney; Discussion with Kelly; The Great Fire; Burned Out in Chicago and St. Louis; Conclusion.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN THE WEST

CHAPTER I.

Having been often solicited to publish an account of my labor and travels in the West, after much hesitation I have concluded to do so. But preliminary to that, it may not be amiss to say a little concerning my early life. My father was from Denmark, my mother from Amsterdam, Holland, but Newburyport, Mass., is my native place. I have one brother, James, residing in Texas; Frederick, the youngest, long since passed away. My father was a sailor, and was lost at sea in a terrific storm, when I was seven years old. Have faint recollection of seeing him two or three times, and the only memento I have of him, is a large pitcher he had manufactured in Liverpool, with his name and the picture of a ship on one side, and my mother's maiden name, and a picture representing Liberty, Peace and Independence, on the opposite side. Those devices indicate his political character. Though a foreigner by birth he was an American at heart — a friend of liberty, peace, and independence. My mother was left in indigent circumstances, without a relative in the New World, save her three helpless boys She married some years after my father's death, and resided, till her death, which took place in 1862, chiefly in Princeton, Mass. I then have a brother here, and a father, mother and one brother on the other side of the

River; and not many years can elapse ere the whole family will be reunited on the Golden Shore. Thank God for the hope of reunion where separation and death are unknown.

I well remember the locality where we lived, though I have not seen Newburyport for thirty years. It was on High street, between the Court-house and the home of "lord" Timothy Dexter. To me that street seemed a paradise, and it was a magnificent thoroughfare. It is on high ground, runs parallel with the Merrimac river, overlooks the harbor, is bordered with rows of grand trees and fine residences embowered in lawns and flower gardens. In this charming locality I spent the first decade of my life. Here I ran, played and frolicked with my brothers and other little associates. The Mall around the Court-house, the pond in its rear, and a neighboring cemetery, were places of frequent resort. On Sunday I attended Dr. Morse's church, where, I am told, I was christened by the good doctor, who was an Episcopalian. But the bud came near being suddenly blasted. An old-fashioned cent I was playing with, slipped down my throat, and was extracted with much difficulty. When it was taken out blood copiously followed. My dear mother was frightened, and I suffered severely for a short time. If my father had lived, I should probably have been a sailor. He was the second officer of the ship in which he made his last and fatal voyage, and was to have been promoted to the captaincy on his return. I have ever loved the sea, and a ship is a thing of beauty to my eye. But it was written that the solid earth, not the treacherous deep, should be the field of my operations.

My mother by her second marriage had three more

boys—Samuel, Henry and Danforth Stratton. They re side near Boston, Mass., and are men of means and respectability.

One word about lord Timothy, just referred to. He was an eccentric genius, had many soft spots on his head, but knew enough to accumulate a large fortune. He built a magnificent residence, which he extravagantly decorated with sculpture, pictures, and other works of art. He was very vain of his house and wealth. It is said that a stranger, passing his house, was attentively observing it, when Dexter, who was sitting at a window, remarked: "Do you not think this is paradise?" I should," replied the man, "if I did not see the devil at the window." He was dubbed "lord," for his vanity and ostentation; and the title delighted him as much as "Corsica" prefixed to Boswell, delighted the well-known biographer of that name.

I commenced attending school at an early age, but have no pleasant memories of school-hours in my native town. My teacher would read every morning a chapter in the Bible, make a long prayer, and then whip and pound his pupils till the time for his evening devotions. If I escaped a day without two or three hard thrashings I deemed myself very fortunate, and I think I was as dutiful as school boys generally of my age. He was doubtless a believer in total depravity, and was sure nothing but blows and knocks would make good impressions on our corrupt hearts.

From my tenth to my eighteenth year, I resided in Haverhill, Mass., with Simeon George. He was a farmer and shoemaker—made shoes, winters, and tilled the soil, summers, and I worked on his farm and in his shop, except winters, when I attended school. I remember

my first attempt at horseback riding. Went to live with him in the spring, and he soon put me on a horse to ride when ploughing corn. The beast being contrary and spirited, would go Jehu-like a few rods, and then stop short, and I would go headlong to the ground. But being spunky as the horse, I would scramble up, and tell Mr. G. to put me on again. I was always eager to remount the beast, even if he threw me twenty times a day. Since then, I have rode tens of thousands of miles on horseback, and consider myself a good horseman.

Have said I worked in Mr. G's shoe shop; yes, and learned to make cheap shoes, but always despised the business, and never more than half learned the trade. My aspirations were to be a *merchant.* Oh, if I could only be a merchant how happy I would be! I dreamed, and planned, and built air-castles — would weep over my "lapstone" for being doomed to work at that hateful trade. When about sixteen years old, I was induced by the reading of the Boston *Trumpet* to look into Universalism, for up to that time I was totally ignorant of its principles or history. Mr. George's family, and all my associates, attended the Congregational church in the neighborhood, and nobody seemed to call in question the infallibility of the sermons we heard every Sunday. But the *Trumpet* opened a new world to my view. I thought no more of being a merchant — that seemed a contemptible calling, — but must be a *preacher.* I devoured the paper, read the Bible, and had many hard fought battles with my comrades. I loved them, loved the world, and was sure, if I could get the ears of mankind, I could convert all nations and people. What a pleasant delusion. The world seemed a musical instrument, tuning the praises of its almighty Author. Thomas

G. Farnsworth was then preaching in Haverhill, four miles from where I resided. Called on him several times; he urged me to prepare for the ministry, but I never intimated to him that I entertained such a thought. I kept that to myself.

I was always fond of reading, and my new faith quickened my love for it. I perused religious books, romance, history, but poetry was my especial delight. I remember with what enthusiasm I read portions of Dr. Young's "Night Thoughts." His grand and solemn thoughts, and sublime diction, stirred my soul to its lowest depths. I even wrote what I called "poetry," but am thankful none of it survives. Have never attempted the "divine art" since those early days, though phrenologists tell me I *ought* to be something of a poet, as my "ideality" is large.

When in Haverhill, I came near being drowned. Could never swim, but with a plank three feet long, one end pressing against my body, I would paddle far from shore into deep water, without any fear. On one occasion, when indulging in one of my aqueous excursions, while in deep water, a comrade, who was ignorant of my helpless condition when off the plank, took it from me, when down I went, but by the aid of other boys I reached the shore. That was my last adventure in deep water on so frail a craft. In my boyhood, I was subject to violent attacks of colic and sick headache, but was otherwise healthy. My physical frame being small and of fine texture, I was not very strong, and could not cope with boys generally of my age in athletic exercises.

When eighteen years old I left Haverhill, and repaired to Princeton, where I attended school one year, and made considerable progress in English branches. But

my purse being nearly empty, I was obliged to replenish it before I could further prosecute my studies; and having no one to aid me, I went to Boston, hoping something there would turn up in my favor. I knew no one in that city, and no one knew me, and soon became satisfied I had better try my fortune elsewhere. Seeing in a city paper, that school teachers were wanted in Eastern New York, I resolved to go there and seek a school, though I had only three dollars in my pocket, and it was one hundred and eighty miles to the place of destination; but my empty purse did not prevent my making the journey. On foot and alone I traveled the whole distance. Though my feet were sore, and bones and muscles ached, I pursued my weary march, and finally reached Bethlehem, a little village a few miles west of Albany, N. Y. The villagers were chiefly Germans, of an unknown tongue, and of manners and customs all new to me. I remained there but a few days, became distressingly homesick, and resolved to return to Boston. Repaired to Albany, thence down the Hudson river to New York city, and by sea, back to Boston. This was my first tour; this was the beginning of my ramblings; but it was rather an unpropitious beginning. When I went on that school-hunting expedition, it was my intention, after securing a school, to devote my leisure hours to study, and if opportunity offered, to speak occasionally in public, and thereby prepare myself for what I deemed to be the chief business of my life. But that Dutch Bethlehem broke up all my calculations, and I returned disgusted, but not discouraged.

In a few days I walked out to Lynn, the great shoe manufacturing town of New England, where nearly all the men, women and children are shoemakers, and

recommenced cobbling, earning enough to defray current expenses, and continued my studies. J. C. Waldo was then pastor of the Universalist church in Lynn, to whom I soon introduced myself, and made known my intention of preparing for the ministry, and he kindly offered me the use of his books, and such other aid I might need in prosecuting my studies. Remained in L. six months, working, reading and writing, when Mr. Waldo advised me to go to Malden, and study with Sylvanus Cobb. To Malden I repaired, and made arrangements with Mr. C. to reside in his family, and devote all my time to study.

A new era in my life had now opened, and my hopes were buoyant. I could give all my time and thought to study, and I made the best use of my advantages. Mr. Cobb was a prominent man in the denomination, an able minister, a fair scholar, and consequently well qualified to give instruction. To that excellent man, and his accomplished lady, I am under great and lasting obligations. "I was a stranger and they took me in." Subsequently he resided in Boston and published for many years, the *Christian Freeman*, a widely circulated religious journal. He also wrote a Commentary on the New Testament, and several other useful books. His son, Sylvanus Cobb Jr., a well known literary writer, was a boy when I was in Mr. C's family. He had three other students while I was with him — A. P. Cleverly, G. Hastings, and C. S. Hussey. We had fine times; we talked, read, wrote and declaimed. When we wanted to ventilate our logic, we repaired to a neighboring grove, where we made the welkin ring with our eloquence. "The Orthodox," said A. P. Cleverly, on one of these occasions, "come to you with their creed in one hand, and damnation in the

other, and say, take *this* or *that*, but one you must and shall have." On Monday we generally went to Boston, two miles distant, and at the *Trumpet* office usually saw Hosea Ballou, H. Ballou, 2d, Walter Balfour, Thomas Whittemore, Sabastian Streeter, Henry Bacon — all now dwellers in the Spirit Land. They did a noble work, and will long be remembered. "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord."

When I had been with Mr. Cobb about three months, he went to a neighboring state, and left me to preach for him one Sabbath. My heart jumped when the first bell on Sunday morning told me to prepare for my first pulpit services; but I went through the exercises of the day without much embarrassment. My texts were: "God is love"—"They hated me without a cause." When Mr. C. returned, he seemed well satisfied with my effort, for he had heard his friends speak of it, and gave me words of encouragement. While with him, I spoke in Lynn, Haverhill, and other places, but devoted most of my time to hard study.

After being with Mr. Cobb six months, I put myself under the instruction of William S. Balch, then residing in Claremont, N. H., and pastor of the church in that place. I found him to be a noble man, and shall ever remember his kindnesses with gratitude. I was in his family, and had the benefit of his library and instruction, six months, but he would receive no compensation. He now resides in Elgin, Ill., and is as faithfully discharging his ministerial duties as in early manhood. When with him, I made my *first preaching tour*, and had my *first debate*. Went up the Connecticut river into Canada, and spoke in most of the towns on both sides of the river. I performed the journey on foot, and must

have walked about two hundred miles. In one town where I had an appointment, a Methodist minister had one at the same place and hour. We both met in the pulpit. He did not wish to speak, as he was unwell, he said, and desired me to occupy the time. I objected, for I was afraid of him; but as he insisted that I should go ahead, I delivered my discourse. My text was: "For if the word spoken by angels was steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward, how shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him." Heb. ii. 2, 3. When I was through he seemed well enough; took my text, and made a long reply to my feeble effort. He handled me rather roughly, but I did the best I could in the way of a rejoinder, but felt that I had come off *second* best. It was not manly in him, an experienced preacher, to attack a boy as he did; but I suppose he had rather encounter a boy than a man.

Soon after returning from this journey, I noticed a statement by Otis A. Skinner, a minister at Baltimore, Md., in one of our denominational papers, that several young men were wanted to preach in Maryland, and Mr. Balch advised me to go there. Heeding his advice, I went by stage across the Green Mountains to Albany, thence to New-York. In the latter place, had the following conversation with an Englishman, right from his foggy island:

E. "I do not like this country."

M. "Why not?"

E. "I have many reasons. The people lack refinement. I have encountered more coarse people the last

six months, than I met with the thirty years I resided in England."

M. "You have been very unfortunate in the company you have kept. There are coarse kinds of people in all countries; and a man can eat and sleep with them all his lifetime if he chooses. But that there are more of that class in this country than in England, I am sure is an error. But what do you mean by coarseness?"

E. "I mean that the *peasants* do not pay proper respect to *gentlemen*."

M. "Yes, yes; I understand you. Why, sir, we have no *peasants* in this country; *all are gentlemen.*"

E. "I abhor such democratic notions. How rudely your people talk about the President of the United States. He is called Mr. Jackson, Old Jackson, Old Hickory. In Europe, we call the king, His Majesty Don't you see the difference?"

M. "I see the difference. The people of this country have little respect for *titles*, and I am thankful for it but they have great respect for *man;* so much that they deem every man a sovereign; and I hope they will never make such fools of themselves as to single out one of their number, perhaps the biggest gump in the land, and bow down and worship him, and like cringing slaves, call him 'His Majesty.' God only is worthy the title of Majesty."

In the cars near Maryland, had some conversation with a lawyer, concerning slavery.

L. "Are you going South?"

M. "To Maryland. Am from the East, and was never as far south or west before."

L. "As you are going into a slave-holding state, I should like to know your views of slavery."

M. "In principle I think it is wrong; but I know little of its practical effects. I shall be better able to judge of it practically at some future time."

L. "Morally I regard it wrong; nearly all the Southern people so view it. But that slavery is a benefit to the blacks, there can be no doubt. As an evidence of this, contrast the negroes of Africa with those in the Southern states. In this country they are far better off than their brethren in Africa."

M. "They doubtless are in some respects, but I am not sure slavery has improved them. Living in this country, and associating, to some extent, with a superior race, has improved them; but I cannot admit slavery has done it. You concede slavery is an evil; and we have the best authority for asserting, that an evil tree cannot produce good fruit. It seems to me you condemn slavery in *principle* and *practice* when you admit it to be an evil. What effect do you think it has on the whites?"

L. "Decidedly a beneficial effect. There is more refinement and high-toned character in the slave states than in the free states. The people in the South have leisure to cultivate the better elements of our nature."

M. "If slavery is a upas tree, an evil as you admit, it cannot produce heavenly fruit. It is not true that Southern people are more intelligent, moral and refined, than Eastern people. Statistics show there are more schoolhouses, academies, colleges and meeting-houses, East than South, in proportion to the population. There are more persons in Virginia, the best of the slave states, who cannot read or write, than in six of the most Eastern states. Facts are against you."

Proceeded to Baltimore and S. P. Skinner, who after-

wards resided, preached, and published the *New Covenant*, in Chicago, advised me to go into the eastern portion of Maryland. This section of the state, and part of Deleware, lies between the Chesapeake and Delaware bays. Most of this neck of land is level and sandy, having been, at a comparatively recent period, reclaimed from the sea. Went in a small vessel to Centerville. While running down, had some conversation on religious subjects, with an Episcopal clergyman.

He commenced with the remark, that the doctrine of endless punishment is taught in the Old Testament.

M. "Some of the wisest and most learned of your school differ from you. Your Bishop Warburton, in his 'Divine Legation of Moses' says: 'In the Jewish Republic, both the rewards and punishments promised by Heaven were temporal only. Such as health, long life, peace, plenty, and dominion, etc. Disease, premature death, war, famine, want, subjections, and captivity, etc. And in no one place in the Mosaic Institutes is there the least mention, or any intelligible hint, of the rewards and punishments of another life.'

"Milman, in his 'History of the Jews' testifies thus: 'The sanction on which the Hebrew Law was founded is extraordinary. The lawgiver (Moses) maintains a profound silence on that fundamental article, if not of political, at least of religious legislation — rewards and punishments in another life. He substituted temporal chastisements and temporal blessings. On the violation of the constitution followed inevitably blighted harvests famine, pestilence, defeat, captivity; on its maintenance, abundance, health, fruitfulness, victory, independence. How wonderfully the event verified the prediction of the inspired legislator! how invariably apostasy led to

adversity — repentance and reformation to prosperity!'

Dr. Paley, another great man of your church, admits the same: 'This (Mosaic) dispensation dealt in temporal rewards and punishments. In the 28th of Deuteronomy you find Moses, with prodigious solemnity, pronouncing the blessings and cursings which awaited the children of Israel under the dispensation to which they were called. And you will observe, that these blessings consisted *altogether* of worldly benefits, and these curses of worldly punishments.'

Jahn, the best authority says: 'We have not authority, therefore, decidedly to say, that any other motives were held out to the ancient Hebrews to pursue good and avoid evil, than those which were derived from the rewards and punishments of this life.'

This is the testimony of able and learned men who have made the Bible their life-study. Notwithstanding they believed in eternal woe, they candidly admit it is not taught by the great Lawgiver, Moses, or the prophets."

C. "They do seem to think that doctrine is not taught in the Old Testament, and I admit their judgment is entitled to much respect. I will look into the subject."

M. "And I am sure you will agree with those wise men after a careful examination of the subject. If they are correct, and the dogma in question is true, is it not amazing the Old Testament writers say nothing about it? If they had believed in eternal punishment, they surely would have spoken of it distinctly, emphatically, and warned their fellowmen of their impending danger. You believe in ceaseless woe, and you preach it faithfully, earnestly. You are right; you act according to your convictions. Were Moses and the prophets less faithful and earnest? But they did not speak of it, and the in-

ference is, they did not believe in it. But, sir, if that dogma is true, would not God have *forced* those inspired men to proclaim it to a dying world? Would God have permitted his chosen people to be ignorant of so important a matter? What! thousands of immortal spirits daily dropping into a fiery gulf, and not a word of warning given? No intimation of such a place till they find themselves in its fathomless vortex? Believe this who can, I cannot."

I spent six months in this part of Maryland, traveling and preaching all the time. My head-quarters were at Salisbury, and from thence I went east, west, north and south, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback. The cause I advocated was almost totally unknown in that region. O. A. Skinner, who had resided in Baltimore, once traveled through there, and delivered a few discourses; but I found not more than a dozen persons, who knew or cared anything about our faith. It was anything but a favorable field in which, for one so young and inexperienced, to operate. I was tired of traveling, and desired to locate where I could devote my time to one or two places, that I might pursue my studies, for I well knew my literary needs, and as such an arrangement was impossible in that region I resolved to try some other locality.

Bidding my few friends good-by, I returned to Baltimore. Encountered a terriffic storm on the bay, which came near sending vessel and all on board to the bottom. It was a bitter cold December night, the wind directly ahead, and most every wave swept the deck fore and aft. The owner of the craft was on board. The steersman, who was his slave, stood to his post like a man the whole of that cold and boisterous night. In the

morning we anchored in a sheltered situation, and during the day reached Baltimore. Spent several weeks traveling and preaching in the vicinity of the city, thence to Hagerstown, Md., the center of my work the six subsequent months. Samuel A. Davis had labored in that region some time previous, as a missionary, but receiving little encouragement, had moved to Pittsburg, Pa. I preached in Hagerstown, Woodville, Frederick, Sharpsburg, and other places, in many of which I was the first to proclaim our beautiful faith, and encountered all sorts of opposition. Our ministers who have always labored where the good cause is well established, have no idea of the mean and contemptible opposition a laborer encounters in a field where hardly any one knows anything of our faith or its history. At the close of a sermon I delivered in Frederick, a clergyman of the place, arose and poured forth the vials of his wrath. He said Universalism was the lowest grade of infidelity, that the blasphemies of Tom Paine were purity itself compared to it; and that Universalists were the scum of society — grog-shops, gambling dens, jails and penitentiaries being full of them. Hosea Ballou and Walter Balfour died drunkards, and they were the best men the sect ever had.

I spoke several times in Charleston, Va., where John Brown was subsequently hung; also in Harper's Ferry, the place he so easily captured, and in Winchester where several battles during the late rebellion were fought. In Smithfield, Va., had an exciting season. Went there an entire stranger, and delivered a discourse in a schoolhouse, the first sermon on the Great Salvation ever delivered in the town. As soon as I said amen, up jumped three men to reply. It was with difficulty they agreed

as to which should first open on me. After settling that matter, they gave me particular attention. Each of them occupied about half an hour, and as the night was short, for it was an evening meeting, it was midnight when they got through. I gave notice I should reply the next evening. The novelty of my faith, and the attention I received from three of the prominent men of the town, caused intense excitement, and the whole village, and the region round about, attended the next meeting. My three opponents — one doctor and two lawyers — were on hand, with paper and pencil — ominous of another attack. I noted the arguments of the gentlemen, and replied as best I could. One of them had charged me with denying a judgment day. I told them I believed in a judgment day, yea, in many judgment days. The Bible speaks of numerous judgment days, but they are all *previous* to the end of the world. When Adam and Eve were condemned and driven out of Eden's bowers, it was a judgment day to them. When Cain was banished to the land of Nod, it was his judgment day. When the wrath of heaven burst on the old world and destroyed all but Noah's family, it was a terrible judgment day. The Sodomites experienced the horrors of a judgment day when they were destroyed by fire. The ten tribes of Israel, when they were banished to the far East, never to return, knew something of a day of judgment. When Babylon, Nineveh, and other mighty cities were destroyed, they suffered the desolations of judgment days. When Jerusalem was trodden under foot by the Babylonians; and when subsequently it was burned up, ploughed up, and drenched with the blood of its citizens, did it not suffer, what the sacred writers call, days of darkness, of gloom, of judgment? The world has

been crowded with judgment days: all nations and people have experienced their desolations. The Christian Dispensation is also termed a day of judgment. It commenced when the kingdom of God was established on earth by the Son of the Highest, and will continue, till Jesus shall return the kingdom to God the Father, as recorded in 1st. Corinthians 15th chapter, when God shall be *all in all.* It commenced amid sin, error, suffering and death; and will end with humanity redeemed.

As soon as I got through, a lawyer read a long chapter of quotations from the Bible, to prove there is a *devil.* He had prepared it with much care, and read it with heavy emphasis. It was supposed that a preacher or two in town helped him to his texts and comments. When he closed, the doctor commenced an harangue, but I begged him to hold on till I had disposed of his brother's sermon. I told the people I believed in *many devils* — lying, slanderous, revengeful, cruel, superstitious, sectarian devils; that every man was his own devil, and if any of my hearers should become vile and degraded, if they would look into a mirror, they would see a devil. But I had no faith in the devil the lawyer had been preaching about. The doctor then resumed his speech. Launched into the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, and did a large amount of special pleading, to make out that the hell spoken of in that passage was a place of eternal woe. When he was through, I enquired if he would answer a few questions. He replied affirmatively.

M. "Do you regard that passage to be a literal relation of *facts?*"

D. "I do."

M. "Hell is there called a *place.* Do you suppose it is a place having length, width and height?"

D. "Yes."

M. "It is said to contain *fire.* Do you believe it contains fire?"

D. "I do, for the passage says so."

M. "The rich man and Lazarus were within *speaking*, *hearing*, and *seeing distance* of each other — they talked together. Do you think heaven and hell are so near each other, that the saved can see the damned, and hear their groans and lamentations?"

D. "I am not bound to answer that question."

M. "But you promised to answer my questions."

Several voices — "You must answer" — "You are getting into a tight place."

D "Well, if I must answer it, I will say, Yes."

M. "One more question. Could you be happy in heaven if you should see all the dear ones you now love, roasting in hell? Will you answer?"

D. "To be candid, I do not see how I could be happy."

M. "I thank you for your candor. According to your interpretation of the passage, and it is the common interpretation, heaven and hell, the latter a region of quenchless fire, are *neighbors* — within *speaking*, *hearing*, and *seeing distance of each other.* Mankind are to be torn asunder — part driven into hell, part sent to heaven — husbands and wives divided, parents and children, brothers and sisters, part in heaven and part in hell, and those in heaven will know that half of the world are in hell, that their near and dear friends are there. Now, it is utterly impossible for there to be any happiness in heaven, with such a world of woe within sight and hearing. The passage must be a parable — figurative language. Jesus often spake in parables. It is in

connection with several parables, and like them is figurative. Have not time this evening to give an explanation of it, but on to-morrow, Sunday, will give what I regard to be the true exposition of that important passage."

The discussion had a sensible effect on the hearers — some rejoiced, some were mad. One old gentleman with streaming eyes, thanked me for what he had heard. But others were so enraged, my friends feared violent hands would be laid on me, ere I should reach the hotel, and I heard several cry, "Search his saddle-bags! he is a d ——d abolitionist! get a rail!"

The next day, meeting was in a grove, for no house that could be obtained, would hold half the people who attended. My youth, the novelty of my faith, and the controversy, drew an immense concourse. The people listened with attention and respect, and the meeting was not disturbed by any opposition.

I often lectured in Harper's Ferry, and generally had large congregations. The town site, and its surroundings, are well known to be remarkably picturesque. The Shenandoah and Potomac, rapid streams, here unite, and roar and plunge through the chasm they have made through the Blue Ridge. The rocks on both sides are several hundred feet high, and nearly perpendicular. Thomas Jefferson said it was worth a voyage across the Atlantic to see this wonderful work of nature.

Near Hagerstown, I had a little controversy with a Disciple preacher. We both had an appointment in a *barn*, and the people were eager to hear both of us speak. He delivered a labored discourse on his peculiar views — dwelt long on the importance of water baptism, affirming it to be a condition of salvation. In my discourse,

I paid particular attention to his water-cure notions — showed that if he was correct, most of mankind would be lost forever, as but a small portion are immersed. In reply, he said, he did not believe in endless misery, but *annihilation*, and admitted that according to his faith not one would be saved, old or young, in a Christian or a heathen land, without water baptism. What a gospel! I rejoined. Instead of bringing life and immortality to light, it proclaims *eternal death* to about all our race; instead of being good news, is a howl of everlasting despair; instead of being a blessing to the world, is an unmitigated curse; instead of announcing God as the loving Father, it blasphemously says he is a fiend. Never again prostitute that blessed word, gospel, by calling your partial, cruel and revengeful system by that dear name. There is less gospel in your creed than brain in a mosquito's head.

One evening, I accompanied a friend to a Methodist meeting. The congregation was large, and a "revival" was under full headway. The first speaker spoke well and sensibly, but his words fell on dull ears and cold hearts. The second speaker was a regular son of thunder, and he thundered, and stormed, and quaked, and made some of his hearers do the same. That part done, he said, "Let us pray." He prayed, and half of the assembly prayed with him. He raised his voice, they raised theirs; he screamed like a maniac, they did the same; he jumped up and down, they jumped up and down. I looked on in utter amazement, having never witnessed such a scene before. When through this part of the performance, he told all who wanted to go to heaven to rise to their feet. I was the only one who did not stand up. "Rise to your feet," said he, "or you will be

damned." I kept my seat, and though strongly tempted to rebuke him, said nothing.

Near Charleston, Va., attended, for the first time, a Methodist camp-meeting, and have not since been anxious to renew my acquaintance with such gatherings. It was held in a beautiful grove. Some two thousand people, white and black, were present. During the services, the whites were seated front of the speaker's stand, the negroes in the rear. The speakers would talk awhile to their white brethren, and then, turning on their heels, give the black brethren a broadside, and the latter always responded to this condescension with a hearty shout. Night was the hour of promise. It was almost sure to bring copious showers of "grace." Sunlight, it seems, is not favorable to its descent. It comes more plentifully with moonshine. The night I was on the ground, there were all sorts of manifestations of the "spirit." Some laughed, others cried, groaned, and threw themselves on the ground. Noticed one poor fellow trying to climb a tree. Asked him where he was going. "To heaven," said he, and kept scratching the tree with his finger and toe nails, for he was bare-footed. The preachers and hearers seemed to think all that hopping, jumping, shouting and screaming, was the work of God converting the people. Every good thing can be abused, and thus become an evil. Religious excitement, when kept within due bounds, is productive of much good; but when it overleaps all bounds, and becomes temporary insanity, as it did on this occasion, it is prostituted to a very bad purpose. Spent a short time in the "preacher's tent" where I had the following conversation with the Presiding Elder:

M. "John Wesley was opposed to such excitement.'

E. "You are mistaken, that man of God was in favor of it, for he knew it was the work of the spirit of God, and I warn you to flee from the wrath to come, before it shall be eternally too late."

M. "Do not get excited, my friend. Let us see what Wesley says about what you call the work of the Holy Spirit. In one of his volumes he speaks of the doings of Satan thus:—'Satan strives to push many of them to extravagance. This appears in several instances:

'1. Frequently three or four, yea, ten or twelve, pray aloud together.

'2. Some of them, perhaps, may scream altogether, as loud as they can.

'3. Some of them use improper, yea, indecent expressions in prayer.

'Several drop down as dead, and are as stiff as a corpse; but in a while they start up and cry, 'glory, glory!' perhaps twenty times together. Just so do the French prophets, and very lately the Jumpers in Wales, bringing the real work into contempt.

'Scream no more at the peril of your soul. God now warns you by me. I never scream, I never strain myself; I dare not, I know it would be a sin against God and my own soul!

'Some very unstill sisters, who always took care to stand near me, and tried who could cry loudest, since I have had them removed out of my sight, they have been as quiet as lambs. The first night I preached here, one-half of my words were lost through the noise of their outcries; last night, before I began, I gave public notice that whoever so cried as to drown my voice, should, without man's hurting or judging them, be gently carried to

the farthest corner of the room, but my porters had no employment the whole night.

'There is a fervor which has passed for devotion, but it is not true, not scriptural devotion. It is loud shouting, horrid, unnatural screaming, repeating the same words twenty or thirty times, jumping two or three feet high, throwing about the arms and legs, both men and women, in a manner shocking not only to religion, but to common decency.'

These are Wesley's words; and you have been doing nearly all he so severely rebukes. What you call the work of God, he calls the work of Satan."

"Let us pray," said the Elder, with an awful groan. And such a prayer! It was not praying, but rather the ravings of a mad man, and the crowd raved with him. He called me a devil, said I had slandered the sainted Wesley, and had come there to stop the work of God. He beseeched the Lord, either to convert me or send me to hell. When he was through, I told him his performance was more like the ravings of a maniac, than the prayer of a Christian, and bid him good-by.

After spending six months in this region, traveling and preaching constantly, and seeing no prospect of establishing our cause permanently, and receiving hardly any compensation for all my hard labor and many privations, I resolved to go to Pittsburg, Pa. The truth is, I was much discouraged. Had labored one year in Maryland, found but few of my faith, and had not received fifty dollars for all my toil. Was tired of traveling, longed for an abiding place where I could preach and pursue my studies, and not be constantly on the wing. Was not avaricious, but, as I devoted all my time to the ministry, it seemed I should be decently supported,

Regretted having come to the state, and certainly should not have been there, had I known the religious character of the people, and how few friends we had in that region

CHAPTER II.

Leaving Maryland, I crossed the Alleghany mountains by stage in the direction of Pittsburg. Stopped at several places and delivered my message. Arriving at Pittsburg, soon became acquainted with S. A. Davis, pastor of the church in that city, and publisher of the *Glad Tidings*, a paper devoted to the good cause. His church was numerically feeble, for liberal principles had just begun to take root in that city as in the West generally. Mr. Davis worked hard in the double capacity of pastor and editor. He is a pleasant speaker, fair writer, and an excellent man. His wife, now dead, possessed much talent, and wrote clever articles for the *Glad Tidings*. He now resides in the East, and is still in the Master's service. His daughter, Minnie Davis, is one of our best female writers. Has written several excellent books, and contributes liberally to our periodical literature

Had now crossed the mountain barrier between the East and the West, and was in the far-famed Mississippi Valley — merely on its border, though. Its hills and vales, its forests and prairies, its rivers and lakes, were all before me, towards the setting sun. Compare the West *then* to the West *now!* Never since earth's foundation was laid, has any country made so rapid progress in such brief time. The West, in twenty-five years, has made a thousand years' growth; and the signs of the times indicate a gigantic advance in the future. The most vivid imagination can only form a faint conception

of its future greatness. Columbus, romantic and extravagant as were his visions, could not have dreamed of half the glory of the future West. Here fiction has already become fact, and dreams, realities.

I effected arrangements to travel and preach in Pennsylvania and Ohio, for I soon learned our friends were few in the West, and I should have to travel extensively. I submitted to my fate and went to work. Visited several places in Pennsylvania, but meeting with little encouragement, passed into Ohio, where were more friends. Preached in many places on the Western Reserve; generally had large congregations, and found many devout believers in the Great Salvation. A large portion of the population of the Reserve were from the Eastern states, and they brought with them industrious habits, correct moral principles, and liberal religious sentiments — the right kind of people for Universalism to flourish among. But where wheat grows, there grows chaff, and I encountered some intolerable bigotry in that region. In Ashtabula a vinegar-faced gentleman accosted me thus:

V. G. "I understand you are a Universalist preacher."

M. "You have been correctly informed. Universalism is only another name for the gospel. 'A rose,' you know, 'by any other name would smell as sweet.'"

V. G. "Sweet! Universalism the gospel! It is neither sweet, nor the gospel. It is a loathsome spawn from hell, the meanest of all the devil's mean works, and you ought not to be allowed to teach it to immortal souls. I would put a stop to such preaching had I the power."

M. "No doubt of it; you look like a villain. The mark of the beast is on you, and you would, doubtless, like to be about your master's business. This

world has been cursed a long time with the spirit you possess, and with men of your character; and that spirit, and that breed are not yet dead. Bigots and hypocrites like you, nailed the Savior of man to the cross, stoned Stephen, murdered the apostles, and have crucified, burnt, hung, beheaded, and quartered, the saints of God in all ages."

V. G. "If I believed as you do, I would take my fill of sin."

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M. "You are full of sin *now*."

V. G. "What do you preach for?"

M. "To reform such men as *you*. You may think you are a Christian of the first water, but you know nothing about Christianity. The name of its Author is Love, and Christianity corresponds, letter, and spirit, with that blessed word. But what do you know about *love?* and what does your fiery creed know about *love?* But you know what *hate* means, and you would pursue all with fire and sword who do not kneel at your shrine. I pray God you may be converted; that you may know the meaning of love, mercy, goodness, justice, know that they do not signify hatred, cruelty, vengeance, and that God is served when we obey the law of love, not when we hate and devour each other."

On board a steamboat, on the Ohio river, I participated in the following conversation with a fellow traveler:

T. "I am free to acknowledge, I cannot reconcile endless misery with the goodness of God, and yet I have to believe in that doctrine."

M. "Others have admitted the same. The celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great moralist of the last century, conceded that God cannot be infinitely good to

the victims of ceaseless woe — so Boswell tells us. We judge of a man's character by his works. If his works are evil, we infer his character is evil; if his works are good, we infer his character is good. Are we not safe in judging of God's character by like criterion? If he has built an everlasting hell, and to its dismal vaults consigns his own offspring to be the victims of Almighty wrath, world without end, and all for the errors of a day, it is impossible for Him to be *good*, much less, *infinitely* good. Goodness seeks the *welfare*, not the *ruin*, of the subjects of its power."

T. "But your argument, if it is sound, proves God is not infinitely good, for the world is full of misery. All, the old and the young, the good and the bad, suffer."

M. "True, there is much suffering under the sun, but it can be reconciled with the goodness of the Creator Consider, first, how short is our stay on earth. Some are here a few hours, others a few days, and none but a few years. Suppose there were nothing in this world but suffering; but if an eternity of bliss awaits us on the other side of the River, all the sufferings of earth would afford no evidence that God is not good. For every tear, every sigh, every woe, we should have millions of ages of happiness. But with very few exceptions, if there are any, all in this world, enjoy far more than they suffer. There are more muscles in the face for laughing than weeping, proving it to be the will of our Creator there should be more happiness in our cup than sorrow. As there is more sunshine than storm, so more joy than grief falls to the lot of mortals. But this should also be considered — most of the suffering men endure, they bring on themselves by their ignorance or willfulness. This is a beautiful world, a garden of Eden, and

if we observe the mandate of the Creator, taste not the forbidden fruit, but partake only from the tree of life, there would be little suffering in this world."

T. "But we are informed, man was forbidden to partake of the tree of life."

M. "Adam and Eve were forbidden while they were unrepentant and sinful, and so are all while of like character. We cannot serve God and Baal. If we serve the one, we despise the other. We cannot possess a sinful character, and a virtuous character, cannot partake of the tree of evil and of good, at the same time. We are driven from the one when we partake of the other. But if we flee from the deadly shades of the upas, touch not, taste not, handle not, its poisonous fruit, the tree of life will be accessible to us. We are told that the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations, (Rev. xxii. 2,) showing, it is now within our reach. Yes, if we approach it with pure motives, clean hands, and reverent steps, we can, even now, pluck its fruit and live. But a flaming sword prevents access to it while we are morally low, debased, groveling."

T. "That is a new view of the subject; I will think about it."

M. "As the suffering of this world is of brief duration; and as we bring on ourselves most we do endure, and as we have reason to trust it will all be overruled for good, and be succeeded by an eternity of blessedness, I cannot see that the few tears, and aches of this brief life militate against the goodness of the Creator. I am sure, when we shall be done with the strifes and conflicts of this world, and see the past in the light of their results, in the light of eternity, we will exclaim, 'Love

and mercy pursued us all the days of our lives.' But misery without mitigation or end, without one ray of hope, can never he reconciled with infinite goodness."

A few miles below Pittsburg, in Virginia — cannot recall the name of the place — I stopped one Saturday evening, and told the people I would speak to them the next day, if they would give me a hearing. A citizen invited me to his house, and I delivered a discourse on Sunday morning to a large assembly. In the middle of the afternoon, some ten or a dozen persons entered the house where I was stopping, and after being seated, the following ensued:

"Are you the man who preached in the school house this morning?"

"Yes."

"Well, we have called to let you know you must not hold another meeting in this town."

"Why not? What is the matter?"

"Your doctrine is dangerous; it is infidelity, and we want no more of it."

"Did any of you hear my discourse to-day?'

"No, and we don't want to hear such stuff."

'How, then, do you know it is dangerous and infidel?"

"We are not here for controversy, but to notify you that you cannot occupy the school house this evening."

My host here informed the gentlemen, he had an interest in that house, and I *should* preach in it if I desired. "This gentleman," said he, "is a stranger in this place; I heard his discourse this morning; I know nothing about Universalism, but he uttered not a word I consider dangerous or infidel."

"When you reflect," I remarked, "on the mean busi-

ness you are here on, you will be heartily ashamed of yourselves, and your conduct. You admit you did not hear me, and yet are loud and angry in your condemnation. I am a stranger in this place, and to you; I have not harmed a hair of your heads, and yet you treat me with savage rudeness. Is this Virginia hospitality? What do you suppose I teach?"

"We understand you teach there is no God, no Savior, no hell, and that good and bad, go to heaven together."

"Nonsense. My advice to you is, to acquaint yourselves with the principles you so rudely condemn, for you are ignorant of them as Hottentots of English grammar."

"We have no more to say, except to repeat, that you must not again preach your abominations in this town."

"I expect to hold a meeting in town this evening, and hope you will do yourselves the justice to attend."

Exit inquisitors.

Held meeting according to appointment, but that precious set of bigots kept out of the way. They found, however, they could neither rule me nor the town, for I had a much larger congregation after their visit than before. Lectured in Wellsville; a Methodist minister replied in a good natured manner, and we parted in friendship. Proceeded down the Ohio to Wheeling, where I lectured several times in a Baptist meeting-house, then to Graves Creek, on the Virginia side of the river, where I spent two weeks, speaking most every day in town or country. C. G. Cox resided there, and preached occasionally. My sojourn in this place is a green spot in my memory, for I found some excellent friends.

which was really cheering after encountering so much opposition.

There is an artificial mound here, some eighty feet high, of a conic shape, and very steep. When, or by whom, it was made, whether by Indians, or a race that preceded them, is unknown, and the mystery will probably never be solved. A few years since a shaft excavated through its base revealed a broken arch and human bones, indicating it to have been a monumental structure.

Most of my traveling, at this period, was on foot. Often walked twenty or twenty-five miles and delivered a long discourse at night. Traveling in this hard way, and preaching most every day, I had little time to read or write. When a traveler asked Wordsworth's servant, to show him his master's study, he answered, "Here is his library, but his study is out of doors." So, like him, my study was out of doors. The Bible was my constant companion. The portions that most interested me were the New Testament, the Psalms, the book of Job, the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. When weary, would sit by the wayside and study the Book of Life, and on resuming my march, reflect on what I had read, or arrange a sermon. My discourses were seldom written, neither were they wholly extemporaneous, for I often repeated portions of them.

Journeyed to Steubenville, Ohio, where I spoke twice; then to Marietta, and thence to Chillicothe, as I was bound for Cincinnati. In Chillicothe, remained a week, and lectured four times. While in this place, had the following conversation with a Presbyterian clergyman:

P. "What do you mean by salvation?"

M. "I mean, deliverance from evil tendencies, thoughts,

habits, purposes, and all of their long train of sad results. This is *perfect* salvation. It can be only partially realized in this world, at best; the grace, light and wisdom of eternity will be required to perfect the work. It may be commenced here, but can hardly be consummated in this lower world. And this is what the New Testament means by salvation. 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their *sins*.' Matt. i. 21. 'Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the *sin* of the world.' John i. 28. 'Unto you first, God having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning every one of you from his *iniquities*.' Acts iii. 25. 'There shall come out of Zion the deliverer, who shall turn away *ungodliness* from Jacob; for this is the covenant unto them, when I shall take away their *sins*.' Rom. xi. 27. 'There is no *condemnation* to them that are in Christ Jesus.' Rom. viii. 1. 'Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all *iniquity*, and purify unto himself a people zealous of good works.' Titus ii. 14. 'Because the creature [meaning mankind] shall be delivered from the *bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty* of the children of God.' Rom. viii. 21. These scriptures clearly teach what is gospel salvation. The recipients of it are liberated from the bondage of sin and error; the 'chains of darkness' are broken, and they enjoy a glorious liberty, a glorious deliverance, a glorious salvation."

P. "True, that is salvation; but the Bible also speaks of salvation from *hell*."

M. "The only passage where salvation from hell is spoken of reads thus: 'For great is thy mercy towards me; and thou hast *delivered my soul from the lowest hell*.' Psalms lxvi. 13. Here is hell, the *lowest hell*, and the

writer speaks of salvation from it. But this hell is on earth, and the deliverance is a *present* deliverance. David had sinned, and he expressed his sins and their results by the term, hell. But he repented, reformed, obtained forgiveness, and was then delivered from the lowest hell into which he had been plunged. And it was the mission of Jesus to save the world from just such a hell, and from no other."

P. "But the Bible speaks of salvation from hell in the future world — an endless hell."

M. "The Scriptures no where locate hell in the immortal world. It is a condition of *moral corruption*, and, this world knows by sad experience something of that kind of a hell. The terms, "eternal hell," "everlasting hell," "endless hell," do not once occur in the good book. But if gospel salvation is deliverance from such a wretched place, it is remarkable the sacred writers say nothing about it. The truth is, God never made the horrid place the creeds denominate hell, and consequently nobody is exposed to its fiery surges, and all this talk about salvation from it, is simply idle talk. But men do cherish wicked thoughts, purposes, habits, and the salvation the Bible contemplates is deliverance from those real evils. Here is a trinity of evils; and to purify our thoughts, correct our habits, and rightly direct our purposes, should be the end and aim of life. But to spend life's golden moments, trying to dodge imaginary evils, evils that exist only in our creeds, and thereby make ourselves miserable, is foolish, is suicidal. The hell we need fear is *within*, not without, and away in yonder world; and if half the effort was made to save the world from that inward hell, that is made to save it from imag-

inary torments beyond the grave, much more would be accomplished for humanity."

Proceeded to Bainbridge, where I spent several days, and delivered four sermons to an excited people. The doctrine of the Restitution was hardly known there, even by name, but all classes attended my meetings to hear the youthful speaker, and to learn something of his strange doctrine. Some were mad, some were glad. One minister treated me very kindly, and assisted several times in the services, but another boiled over with rage, but heard me through. At the close of the second discourse, the latter jumped to his feet, and told the people the speaker believed in no hell, no devil, and for my part, he added, I would as soon deny that there is a God or a heaven. I told him he was mistaken, had misunderstood me; that I believed in all the hells and devils the Bible speaks of, and no more; that possibly we might differ concerning their Bible meaning, and that it was very uncharitable for him to assert I denied the Bible because I differed from him in understanding it. Doing that is not denying the Bible, but simply differing from the gentleman. He then dashed into Revelation to prove the devil to be a huge monster, almost equal to the Almighty; that he has his throne in the infernal regions, where he reigns "monarch of all he surveys," that his eagle eye, from the center of hell, beholds this earth and all therein, and that he not only attends to his infernal duties at home, but is constantly besieging every man, woman and child of earth, and never forsakes a soul till he is fairly within the gates of the New Jerusalem and the door shut in his satanic face. I replied, that there was this difference between the speaker and myself—he was a *Pagan*, I a *Christian*. I believed in *one* God, he, at least,

in *two*— the God of heaven, and the god of hell. And I exhorted him to abandon his Paganism and embrace Christianity. He cooled down somewhat, and at the close of the meeting gave me his hand.

Went to Cincinnati by stage, and oh, what roads! There were no railways then, not even turnpikes. Mud, mud, mud, nothing but mud; stiff, black, deep mud. I forget how many times the stage broke down, how many horses were killed, or how many times all hands had to get out into the ocean of mud, and pry the stage out of the mud. But I do remember, that when we reached Cincinnati, the horses, driver, stage and passengers, were covered with rich Buckeye mud. Mr. West was preaching in the Queen city in a small house on Walnut street, and Mr. Tizard and George Rogers were publishing the *Star in the West*. Cincinnati then contained only twenty-five thousand inhabitants, but now fully three hundred thousand. Still, it was *the* city of the West. St. Louis and Chicago were then mere villages, now each is equal to Cincinnati in population. Surely, western cities are great *growers*. Preached several times in C., and made many pleasant acquaintances. Was urged to remain and labor in the vicinity, but had resolved to go South, and no persuasion could change my purpose. Had to learn my mistake by experience.

Went on foot, down the Ohio river. Stopped at North Bend; saw General Harrison, who then resided there, and spent several hours in his company. He was very kind and social. Said he had thought much about religion, believed in its reality and usefulness, could not subscribe to eternal punishment, did not know about the salvation of all, but added, "I believe God is just, wise, good and merciful, and that all will end well, but what

that end is to be I know not. I must wait for the developments of the great teacher — death." Soon after, he was elected President of the United States. Saw him several times during the Presidential campaign; heard him make his Dayton speech to congregated thousands, read with tearful eyes the announcement of his death one short month after his inauguration, and have since lingered around his grave on the bank of the Ohio.

Next went to Rising Sun, Ind., where I preached every day for a week. This was my first advent into Indiana. Since then, have traveled through its length and breadth, and preached in nearly every town within its borders. Much interest was manifested in the meetings at Rising Sun, and large congregations attended. One man, I was informed, a member of some orthodox church, who attended one of the meetings, became so excited, during the service, that he ate all the tobacco he could find in his pockets — three large plugs. Since then, a church has been organized and a house built. Perhaps the good seed sown then, in after years yielded some fruit. Seven miles down the river is Patriot, where I stopped ten days, and delivered five discourses. The principal families of the place were of the liberal faith, excellent people, and practical Christians. They loved the truth, loved to talk about it, and loved to attend the services of the sanctuary. That place was an oasis in the desert — no controversy, no denunciation, but peace, and harmony reigned. A fine meeting-house was built soon after, and the church prospered for several years. But pecuniary misfortune overtaking some of the leading members, and the business of the town diminishing, nearly broke up the church. After a pleasant sojourn with the Patriot friends, went to Louisville, Ky., where I preached several

times in a large hall. Had not been in Kentucky before, but since then have traveled extensively in that state. In this city, E. M. Pingree lived, studied, labored and died. He died young, in the midst of usefulness, loved and honored by all who knew him. He was a strong man, gathered many friends around him, and built up what seemed to be a permanent church; but it did not prosper long after his death, and is now extinct. Gad Chapin was in L. on my first visit, and is there still — a patriarch in our Israel.

At Louisville, took passage on the steamer "Commercial," for New Orleans, fifteen hundred miles down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Delivered three discourses, at the request of the captain and passengers, on three subjects — Judgment, Punishment, Salvation — and theological points were the principal subjects of discussion the ten days occupied in going to New Orleans. The merits and demerits of Universalism were pretty freely canvassed by all, from the captain to the barber. Captain Rudd, the commander, was a member of the church in Patriot. Met him in after years in St. Louis, where he died of yellow fever. He was a good officer, and a generous friend.

Arrived at New Orleans in January. Ten days had transported me from winter to summer weather; from where the earth was bound in chains of ice, and covered with snow, to where mother-earth was teeming with vegetable life, and covered with a carpet in which were blended the tints of the rainbow. Jack Frost was busy, biting ears and fingers, in Louisville; in New Orleans, gnats and mosquitoes were as eagerly biting at every exposed point. Heard Dr. Clapp, but he had not then embraced the better faith.

Traveled all over the city; also visited the battle-ground where General Jackson gave the English such a drubbing. Wanted to preach on the spot, but could not find a door of entrance. No one seemed to care for anything but money and dissipation. Mammon and Bacchus were the gods mostly worshiped. The meeting-houses were nearly empty, but theaters, museums, gambling dens, and grog-shops, were crowded. There were doubtless some righteous men there, but to a stranger they seemed to be as scarce as in ancient Sodom.

CHAPTER III.

Desiring to see more of the world, I embarked for Matagorda, Texas, on board of a ship bound for that port. A steam tug towed us to the Balize, and we were soon under sail for the destined port. There were many emigrants on board, going to Texas to make themselves homes. We were at sea one Sunday, and had religious services on that day. I stood on the quarter-deck, my hearers, numbering about one hundred, gathered around me — some on deck and some in the rigging. My text was, "And he arose and rebuked the wind and the sea, and there was a great calm." I commenced by speaking of the storms to which the sea is subject; and then spoke of that ONE, who has perfect control of its mountain waves, and of the hurricane that lashes the mighty deep into such fury. One word from Him turns the headlong tornado into a calm, and the angry surges into repose. Life is a sea, and we are all voyagers, sailing from port to port. Sometimes we have fair weather, and sometimes foul weather. To-day the sun may brightly shine, and the air be gentle as an infant's breath, and our bark glide smoothly along, like a vessel on the mirrored deep; to-morrow, clouds and darkness may gather around; the storms of human passion, or of adversity, may threaten the destruction of us and ours, and in despair we may give up all as lost. But let us remember, through the whole journey of life, there is One who controls the storms of life as well as the storms of the ocean, and that to every troubled heart he says, "Peace — be still." A

hymn was sung, in which nearly all, sailors and passengers, participated.

Shortly after services, a small cloud was observed in the west. The captain, knowing what it betokened, ordered the vessel trimed for a gale. In a few minutes, the wind was howling tnrough the rigging, and the vessel plunging from wave to wave, as if eager to flee from the wrath of the storm-king. The gale continued above an hour, when the wind abated, the clouds dispersed, the sun again brightly shone, and the sea became smooth as a mirror. The gulf at that season of the year, is subject to such gusts of passion. A few nights after, when sound asleep on the quarter-deck, for it was too hot to rest below, one of these gales crossed our track, and a huge wave breaking over the vessel, dashed me across the deck, when I scrambled up, and ran into the cabin, not fancying so unceremonious a sea-bath. One night, a man jumped overboard, and was lost — he must have been insane. Friends at home probably waited with alternate hope and fear for his return, and, perhaps, never knew of his sad fate. At that time, Mexico and Texas were at war, and armed vessels were in the gulf looking after prizes. One day, a large ship was observed in the distance, bearing down upon us, without showing colors. Our captain was alarmed. With a pale face, he eyed the stranger through his telescope. We were all fearful it was a Mexican armed vessel, and that we should be taken into Matamoras, for there were contraband goods on board, but were finally relieved by the ship showing English colors, tacking eastward and leaving us.

Sailed up Matagorda bay a few miles, but the water being shallow, I got on board a lighter, and landed at a village, the name of which I do not now remember.

After spending a few weeks in and near that locality, I resolved to return to the "States." I at once commenced making preparation to go to Houston by the land route, and thence to New Orleans by water. The distance to Houston is one hundred and sixty miles. Being informed there were but few inhabitants on the road, and most of them in a starving condition, as the Mexican army the season previous had passed through that region, I carried food to last to the end of my land journey. Tea, coffee, sugar, salt or flour, could not be obtained for love or money. Everybody lived on fresh beef, without salt or pepper, save here and there an aristocrat who had a little corn meal in his larder. I bought some beef, cut it in slices, and dried it in the sun.

With a good supply of dried beef, and nothing else, a tin canteen, a blanket and a staff, I commenced my journey, on foot and alone, through the wild prairies of Texas. I found the country to be nearly all prairie, the surface quite level, and the soil rich and deep. The forest trees were generally covered with ivy, which gave them a melancholy appearance. Live oaks abounded in some localities. Alligators flourished in the streams; Indians, snakes, tarantulas and horned toads, on the land. Often traveled a day without seeing a human being or his habitation. When night came on, would eat my dried beef, drink some water which I had carried, perhaps, all day, then roll myself in my blanket, lay on the ground and go to sleep, not knowing there was a human being within miles of me. Was four weeks going to Houston, and did not sleep in a house one night on the route.

I well remember of suffering intensely one day from thirst. It was a sultry day, and the morning repast had

exhausted my little supply of water. Expected to find more of the blessed beverage about noon in a small grove. Reached the spot, but no water there; the bed where there had been a stream was dry and hard. It was a sore disappointment, for I was very thirsty. As I could not eat my dried beef without water, I pressed on towards the Colorado river, which seemed about fifteen miles distant, for I could see the timber bordering on the stream. Reached the timber a little after dark, but how far it was to the river, I knew not. Plunged into the forest in the direction I knew the stream must lay, as it ran southward. The moon, just risen, was my only guide, for be it known, I was on no road. It proved to be about four miles to the river; and how I got through, I know not. There was no path, the thick foliage of the forest admitted but little moonlight, and the underbrush, vines and branches of trees, made the whole distance a perfect thicket. But I went through with a rush, regardless of scratches, snakes, or anything else, for water I must have. About ten o'clock, reached the bank of the river, reflecting the full moon, which had been my guide through the dense forest; and never did a traveler on the Arabian desert behold the long sought pool with more delight. It seemed to be my friend, my savior; and had I been an idolator, should have fallen down and worshiped it. Filled my canteen and drank till I was satisfied. Bathed head, face, hands and feet in the glorious river. On the bank partook of my humble repast — dried beef and water — with a thankful heart. With my blanket around me, I laid down on the ground and slept, never better, till the hot morning sun shining in my face awoke me when it was about two hours high. I have often wondered how I dared to sleep that night,

knowing as I did, that there were alligators in the river, and bears, wolves, and poisonous reptiles in the woods. In the morning I again partook of beef and water with an excellent relish.

But a new difficulty now presented itself. A deep river was before me, without a bridge or a boat, and I could not swim. But cross the stream I must. In the first place, I explored the river up and down several miles, hoping to find some one to aid me, but not a sign of a human being could I discover. I resolved to attempt crossing the river on logs; and after much hard work succeeded in getting two of sufficient size into the water, fastened them together with strips of my blanket, and with pole in hand, launched into the river. The stream being quite rapid, my frail craft floated down about one mile, but I safely landed on the opposite shore without much trouble. After wandering in the cane-brake two hours, I struck a road, thanked God and took courage.

I soon came to a house where I had the good fortune to obtain a quart of corn which I ground in an old coffee mill, and made some excellent bread of corn meal and water. Passed through San Felippi where was once a village, but only its ruins then remained, for the Mexicans had destroyed it. Waking one morning about sunrise, I was amazed by the presence of six naked Indians squatting in the grass around me. I jumped to my feet; they saw I was astonished, but I noticed they smiled. Taking courage by that friendly token, I walked up to them and extended my right hand. They offered me the pipe of peace, which was gladly accepted. They did not understand a word of English, nor I a word of

Indian. We talked, however, in gestures. They remained an hour, when we parted in peace.

When within thirty miles of Houston, I sold my watch for fifteen dollars, expecting I should need the money to help pay expenses to the States. After receiving the money, I heard a woman remark, "It will do him no good, for he will spend it all in Houston for liquor." I suppose she would have thought I lied, if I had told her I had never drank a glass of liquor. Arriving at Houston, I renovated self and clothing, for both were rather dilapidated. Samuel Houston was then president of Texas. Was introduced to him, and dined with him once in the log cabin where he boarded. He was a good talker, but an awful swearer. Oath after oath rolled from his tongue without an effort. It is said, General Jackson was an *eloquent* swearer, but I have doubts of his beating General Houston in that department of eloquence. I witnessed his departure for the interior of Texas, to treat with some Indian tribes. The ferryman did not handle the boat to suit the President, and he poured battery after battery of oaths on the poor fellow's head. On leaving, he embraced, after the French fashion, his friends who had followed him to the boat. I was on the San Jacinto battle ground, a few miles from Houston. That little fight was a short but decisive contest. The Mexican forces were totally routed, and Santa Anna taken prisoner. That battle crowned Houston with glory and honor — in Texas. The town of Houston, when I was there, was a moral desert — a hell on earth. Vice of most every name and grade reigned triumphantly. The Attorney-General of Texas, while I was there, roamed the streets most of one night, drunk, and hatless, coatless, bootless, daring any one to fight with him

The people laughed about his disgraceful conduct as if it was a trifling matter and of common occurrence. It is to be hoped the morals of that place have improved.

Intending to go to New Orleans by water, I went in a lighter down Buffalo bayou to Galveston bar where the steamer was anchored. The passage down occupied three days, and the vessel was a perfect pandemonium — the officers and hands were quarreling or fighting most of the time. Dirks and pistols were freely used. Buckwheat cakes and fat hog-sides were served to us three times a day. And oh, what cakes. The cook baked them about an inch thick, without any rising properties, and put them on the table stone cold. Fine cakes — thick, cold and solid. Finally reached the steamer, and the captain promised a quick passage to New Orleans and good fare. But the passengers soon learned, when it was too late though, that the boat was an old, rotten, condemned hulk; that provisions were scarce, and the captain a scamp. Time and again the engine broke, or some of the running gear. Water and food soon being nearly exhausted, we were allowed only one pint of water and one Boston cracker per day. The fuel being all consumed, we had to burn part of the boat to get into port. Were a week in going from Galveston bar to the mouth of the Mississippi river, when the trip should have been made in thirty-six hours. Fortunately we had pleasant weather, for one such squall as we had going out would have sent the whole concern to the bottom of the gulf.

When I returned to New Orleans it was mid-summer, and the city presented a very different appearance from what it did when I was there the previous winter. Then business was at its zenith, now at its nadir; then the

hotels, streets and marts of trade were crowded, now there was plenty of room; then steamboats and vessels were receiving and discharging freight for and from every clime, now the shipping was meager; then the weather was pleasant, now the heat was scorching, burning, melting; then it was healthy, now the yellow fever and almost every other fever, were raging. Exposure and hard fare in Texas ultimated in ague and fever. Had several chills while in Houston; when at sea beyond the land breeze was free from them; but soon as I inhaled the air from shore, they returned with increased violence, and it was two years before I entirely regained my former good health.

I was soon on board a steamer bound for Cincinnati; and after a voyage of two weeks, landed at Leavenworth, Ind., where I remained three months doctoring for the ague.

CHAPTER IV.

Partially recovering my health, I gladly resumed traveling and preaching. E. B. Mann resided near Leavenworth, but his labor in the ministry extended on both sides of the Ohio river from the Miami to the Wabash rivers. This circuit, which was about two hundred miles round, he traveled on horseback once a month. He also distributed a large number of denominational books. His mind was not graced with education or literature, yet his efforts were blessed with a good degree of success. He is now dead, and his mortal remains repose near Leavenworth, the center of his labors for many years.

I lectured in L. and vicinity three weeks, and then proceeded to Louisville, Ky. N. Wadsworth was residing there, and publishing a paper called *The Berean;* and at his earnest solicitation, I spent three months soliciting subscribers for it. Mr. W. was formerly a Methodist minister, but then cherished a more liberal faith. His talent was above mediocrity, his acquirements fair, and besides, was a good man, and devoted to the cause he espoused, and the profession of his choice. He was small in stature and feeble in health — too small and feeble for his large and active brain. A year after, he moved to Troy, Mo.; his periodical was discontinued, and he died of consumption after laboring with excellent success about one year. His widow resides there still, and though she has changed her name, the home of brother and sister Sydnor is ever a welcome retreat for

our ministers. It has been my privilege to spend many pleasant hours in their company. The grave of my early friend is in the Troy cemetery; and I have read the brief monumental inscription on the cold marble at its head through tearful eyes.

I bought a horse of Mr. Wadsworth, and was to pay for it in obtaining subscribers for his paper. It was the first horse I had owned, and felt quite rich and very independent. Preached in many of the towns within fifty miles of Louisville in Kentucky and Indiana. In Salem, Ind., delivered a series of sermons. A merchant there told me that his counting-room was his chapel, his ledger his Bible, and money his religion. He was then doing a large and lucrative business. A few years after he had no counting-room, no ledger, no money, and died a miserable death — the natural result of so profane a life. General Clarke, an old Indian warrior, resided near Salem. He attended my meetings, and I was often at his house. He said he had helped steal Kentucky and Indiana from the Indians. He was an intelligent man, but a zealous Atheist. He admitted, that faith in a God of goodness, wisdom, justice, and in the immortal blessedness of mankind, is more satisfactory, and yields more happiness than Atheism; and if such exalted and benevolent sentiments had received his attention ere his present views had become permanently established, he might have embraced them, but now he was too old to learn. I used to rejoin: your admission is fatal to your creed. If a belief in God and immortality confers more happiness than the denial of a God and a hereafter, that is the best of evidence that Atheism is false, and religion truth, for truth always confers more happiness than error.

At Bedford a Presbyterian minister abruptly attacked

me at the close of a discourse. "If the pain of the damned will cease," said he, "so will the joy of the saved; for the same words express the duration of both." "Never," I replied, "was a man more mistaken. The Bible speaks of endless life, but not a word about endless death. The popular terms, 'endless death,' 'endless misery,' 'endless woe,' 'endless damnation,' 'endless hell,' found in the creeds of men, do not once occur in the Bible. Read all that Moses and the prophets, Jesus and the apostles, said or wrote, and you will not find those terms once, not even once, in the Old or New Testaments. Endless life is a Bible term, but those other *endlesses* are wretched fictions. The Bible says, 'O *hell*, I will be thy *destruction;*' but where does it say, O *heaven*, I will be thy destruction?"

Finding but few of the liberal faith in the vicinity of Louisville, I journeyed to Ohio. Preached in Cincinnati, Mount Healthy, Hamilton, Oxford and Middletown. In the latter place a clergyman of another faith attended my meetings, and at the close of each discourse entered his solemn protest against what had been said. He was a German, and in one of his harangues said, "This man believes the fire will be *squenched*, I believe the fire will not be *squenched*." But he became so interested, he proposed traveling with me a few weeks, but not caring for his company, did not accept of his offer.

Proceeded to Dayton; and having reference to no one, I engaged the Court-house for meetings the next day — Sunday. Wrote some notices of the proposed meetings, and while putting them up in different parts of the town, a gentleman introduced himself, who proved to be the mayor of the city. He kindly informed me of a man of my faith, on whom I called, and was received

with a hearty welcome. Delivered two discourses on Sunday; and Monday morning when preparing to leave, several friends called, and earnestly urged me to remain, at least, a few months. The town, they said, had just been scourged by a crazy revival, and if I should tarry awhile, they were sure a church would be established. Told them I could not, being under obligation to obtain seventy subscribers for *The Berean*, and must travel to get them. "If that number should be obtained in this town, will you tarry with us?" queried the gentlemen. I replied, that I would. Notice was then given there would be a meeting on the evening of that day. I delivered a discourse, and at the close a friend informed the congregation I had consented to remain three months, if seventy subscribers were obtained for *The Berean*. In a few minutes the required number were secured. We soon organized a church, a choir, and our meetings were well attended during my sojourn in that pleasant town. I wrote two sermons each week, and committed them to memory — did not take the manuscript into the desk. The church paid me one hundred dollars for my services. My health not being good, I declined remaining after the stipulated time had expired. The church, after I left, built a meeting-house, and prospered for several years. I am not informed of its present condition.

While residing in Dayton, I preached in Springfield, Centerville, and other places within twenty or thirty miles of the city. The former place was the residence of George Messenger, a minister of the Common Salvation. His church was building a meeting-house. D. R. Biddlecom, well known in the West as a minister of the Restitution, visited me. He was then, as he is yet, trav-

eling and scattering the good seed broadcast over the land.

Taking leave of my dear friends in Dayton, I proceeded to Cincinnati. Stopped in Mason, and delivered four discourses. Here I met Robert Smith, a singular kind of a man, but of considerable ability. He deemed it wrong to pray in public, baptize, or partake of the eucharist. Such extreme views being offensive to our people, he was not always cordially received. This offended him, and he subsequently joined the Disciples, prayed in public, eat bread and drank wine every Sabbath, and taught that immersion in water is a condition of salvation! When I returned to Cincinnati, J. A. Gurley was publishing the *Star in the West* in that city. He was an active and enterprising man, possessed respectable talent, and was a forcible speaker. He was a popular preacher in the West, while he continued in the ministry. He made himself a beautiful home near Cincinnati, and lived under his own vine and fig-tree. Having made two or three hundred thousand dollars — on paper — by Chicago town-lots, he abandoned the *Star* and the ministry, and jumped into the muddy pool of politics. He was a member of Congress two terms, and died the territorial governor of Arizona. Here I met for the first time, George Rogers, a well known minister of our faith, and the author of several acceptable books. During his brief ministry, he traveled extensively in the South and West, publishing the glad tidings of life and immortality. He was a little man physically, but a large man intellectually and morally. His voice was feeble, but his words were weighty. He broke down by hard labor a good constitution, and died in the prime of life.

Mr. Rogers having recently traveled in Indiana, ad-

vised me to spend a few months in that state. Heeding his advice, in a few days I was on the road, bound for Indiana. It was then the middle of May, 1838, and I did not expect to return till the latter part of autumn. Mounting my faithful horse, I rode to Harrison, where I preached in the evening. As soon as I had said amen, George Campbell, a Disciple, expressed an ardent desire to reply. He was told he would be heard attentively. The chief point he made was, that "Universalism is a *new doctrine*, and therefore cannot be the gospel, for that is *old*—most eighteen hundred years old." I replied, that it is old as revelation; that its distinguishing features were revealed to our first parents by the Creator. To them he said, "In the day you sin you shall surely die." They did sin, and died the death threatened. St. Paul calls it a "death in trespasses and in sins;" "to be carnally minded," he says, "is death," and he terms this death the wages of sin. This is the death God threatened the primitive pair; and if we sin we die the same death—no mistake about that. Mark also the important fact, they were to suffer this punishment in THE DAY they sinned. It was not to be deferred till the next day, the next year, or the next world, but in the day, when and where they sinned, they were to begin to suffer the penalty of transgression. And it is true now as it was six thousand years ago, that in the DAY we sin we are punished. It is true in this town as in the Garden of Eden, that in the day we sin we are punished. It is true of us as of Adam and Eve, that in the day we sin we are punished. Truth is eternal; the laws of God are unchangeable, the same yesterday, to-day and forever. As sin and its penalty in the beginning were chained together, it is thus now, and ever will be thus. Here

then, in the very beginning, we are taught the *certainty* of punishment—"in the day you sin you *shall* be punished;" and here also we are taught, that punishment is *immediate* —in the *day* they sinned the penalty was to overtake them. These ancient truths we believe and preach — they are portions of the gospel. But my friend, Mr. Campbell, denies all this. He contends that punishment is *not certain*, is *not immediate;* that a person may sin three-score years and ten without being punished, for remember, he denied that God judges in the earth; he said, that is a new doctrine, one of our heresies, not taught in the Bible. He also teaches, that a man, after spending seventy years in crime of the blackest dye, can, by complying with certain conditions, escape all punishment in eternity, and occupy as high a seat in heaven as St. Paul or St. John. In a word, Mr. C. denies squarely and fully the truth of the divine Word, "In *the day* you sin you *shall surely* be punished."

But the gentleman is not the *first* to make that denial, and this is not the first *place* where this *truth* has been called a *lie*. He has an ancient precedent, he is following an old leader, he has taken lessons from an old master. The tempter preached in Eden's garden just what the gentleman has been preaching here to-night, with so much zeal. "*Ye shall not surely die*," said the arch deceiver; "God will not *surely* punish you; there is a way to escape. Besides, don't believe a word of it, that you will be punished in *the day* you sin." Mr. C. has taken the tempter's text this evening, and I give him credit for sticking to the text of the father of lies. Our doctrine, then, relative to punishment, is not *new*, neither is Mr. Campbell's doctrine, concerning punishment, *new*. But ours and his are from different sources — one is of

God, who is the author of truth; the other of the serpent, the father of lies. They are both ancient doctrines, but judge ye which is from heaven, and which is from hell.

The doctrine of salvation — universal salvation — is not a new thing either under the sun, as Mr. C. affirmed. Immediately after sin and its dire results had entered the world, and while the first sinners were yet trembling with guilt in the blissful gardens, it was revealed to them that the "SEED of the woman should bruise the serpent's head." It is generally considered, that "the Seed of the woman" was the future Christ, whose advent occurred four thousand years afterwards. This Seed was also promised through the Jewish patriarchs. "In thee and in thy *Seed* shall all nations of the earth be blessed." And St. Paul distinctly asserts, that Jesus is here intended. "Now to Abraham and his *Seed* were the promises made. He saith not, And to *Seeds* as of many; but as of one, And to thy *Seed* which IS CHRIST." Gal. iii. 16. The *Seed*, then, promised to our first parents, and to the patriarchs, is Jesus Christ. He was to bruise the serpent's head. Serpent, in the Bible, is a symbol of sin. A serpent is a low, vile, cruel reptile, so vice is low, vile, cruel. It worms its slimy folds into our thoughts, purposes, character, life, and is sure to poison everything it touches. But Jesus Christ is to bless all nations by bruising the serpent's *head*. When we kill a snake, our blows are aimed at its *head*; so Jesus is to crush the head of the serpent, that is, destroy sin, and thus *bless all nations*, as the patriarchs were assured.

Three vitally important truths, then, were revealed to mankind in the morning of creation. 1st. Punishment for transgression is *certain*. 2d. It is *immediate*. 3d.

Sin and its results are temporary. It is the Purpose and Promise of God that the Seed of the woman shall make an end of sin, and thus bless all mankind.

As soon as Mr. Campbell's objections were disposed of, a Presbyterian minister, Dr. Thomas, spent half an hour in trying to prove that countless millions of Adam's race would be the victims of Almighty wrath, world without end. When I got through with his "reasons" it was near midnight. The congregation was large, and so deeply interested that nearly all remained till that late hour. The next Sunday I delivered two discourses in the Snow Settlement, to immense assemblies. The meetings were held in a grove, and a wagon was my pulpit. In Brookville I also spoke to the people. Father St. John, a venerable man, resided there, and for many years had occasionally dispensed the word of life. His silvery locks are now in the grave, but he, I trust, is with God. Spent several days in West Union, and though I told the people that God was their Father, Friend and Benefactor, some treated me with bitter malignity — threatened to drive me out of town, and even to horsewhip me. Since then a better spirit has prevailed. There is now a church and meeting-house in or near that place. Let not the reformer despair if his mission is rejected; for,

> "Truth crushed to earth will rise again,
> The eternal years of God are hers."

Spent a Sunday in Connersville; preached twice, and heard John O'Kane, a noted minister among the Disciples, once. He has since then, held several oral debates with our ministers. Not knowing much about the faith of his sect, I asked him the following questions, and received the subjoined answers:

M. "What must we do to be saved?"

O'K. "Believe in Christ, be baptized and repent of our sins."

M. "What do you mean by baptism?"

O'K. "Immersion in water."

M. "Do you mean to say no one can be saved without immersion?"

O'K. "There is no promise any can."

M. "That is not answering my question. Do *you* contend there is no salvation without water baptism."

O'K. "The New Testament gives no assurance a soul can be redeemed without baptism."

M. "But what is YOUR opinion?"

O'K. "No matter what my opinion may be."

M. "Can a heathen be saved without baptism?"

O'K. "I have nothing to do with heathen."

M. "Cannot children, dying in childhood, be saved without baptism?"

O'K. "Yes."

M. "Then you admit *one third* of mankind are saved without baptism. But you just said baptism is a *condition* of salvation, and you had no evidence a soul could be saved without complying with that condition. Your system contradicts itself. If God can save one third of mankind without baptism, can he not save the remaining two-thirds without baptism?"

O'K "I have no evidence he will."

Since this conversation with Mr. O'Kane, I have often come in contact with members of his denomination, and they all contradict themselves as he did. They all assert that water baptism is a condition of salvation, without any qualification or exception. But after having laid down that platform, ask them if the

salvation of children depends on being baptized, and they will say, nay. Ask, if the heathen can be saved without baptism, and they will give an evasive answer.

Spoke in several towns on the National road, between Richmond and Indianapolis. In the latter place, the capital of Indiana, I delivered several discourses in the Court-house, but found only two families of the liberal faith. A. Longley was doing business in town, and preaching in the neighboring villages on Sundays. He is a worthy man, and a devout Christian. He has been in the ministry about forty years. My horse being lame, a friend furnished a colt that had never been rode in its stead; but I soon broke him, and he carried me on my mission very pleasantly. When I returned him, five months afterwards, he jumped with delight on coming in sight of his old home. I love a horse, love to ride and take care of him. He is a noble animal, and merits kind treatment from man. But he is often savagely abused. I always want to kick the fellow, who ill treats a horse. He has a bad heart.

I lectured in Greencastle several days. A Methodist clergyman, desiring to know more about our faith, questioned me thus:

C. "Do you believe in the Trinity?"

M. "No; I believe in one God, and no more."

C. "What do you think of the person of Christ?"

M. "He was a created, subordinate and dependent being; the Son of God, the Son of man."

C. "For how many did he die?"

M. "He tasted death for *every man*,—'Gave himself a ransom for *all*.'"

C. "Did he make a vicarious atonement?"

M. "No. He came to teach that God is our Father,

Judge and Savior; that we are immortal beings; that we shall live forever, and that we should love God and our fellow men."

C. "But did he not come to reconcile God to the world?"

M. "It was the mission of Jesus to reconcile the world to God, by the influence of truth, and his own noble example. God is right, we are often wrong, and Jesus preached, lived and died, to advance us in all things pure and good — to make us Godlike, hence it is said, 'God is in Christ reconciling the world to himself.'"

C. "Do you believe in experimental religion?"

M. "Religion is not an abstraction, a speculation, but a *reality*, something to be known, felt, experienced; it is a *life*."

C. "Do you believe in conversion?"

M. "Yes; conversion from error to truth, from sin to holiness, from depravity to purity, from a disloyal to a loyal life. But this conversion begins, progresses and is consummated, in harmony with the laws of the mind. It is as natural a process as the growth of the body."

C. "Do you believe in a hell?"

M. "The word hell in the Bible has several distinct significations. 1st. It often means grave. 2d. Temporal destruction. 3d. Moral degradation. 4th. The state of the dead. But hell in no sense is endless in duration."

C. "Do you believe in a general judgment?"

M. "In a *general* and *everlasting* judgment. All are now judged by the eternal laws of God, and we rise or fall, are happy or miserable, as we obey or disobey them. This judgment is everlasting. Through all time, and

through all eternity, happiness will result from obeying the laws of God, and misery from disobeying them. Entering the spirit world, will not change our nature, and the laws of the Creator are the same there as here."

C. "But do you not believe in a day of judgment?"

M. "Yes; in a day, and in days of judgment. Judgment commenced six thousand years ago, and it is not yet ended. 'All God's ways are judgment,' the Bible teaches us. Particular calamities befalling nations and cities, are called judgment days. The gospel dispensation is termed a judgment day."

C. "But do you not believe in a judgment day at the end of time, when the immortal destiny of each of Adam's race will be immutably fixed for eternal weal or woe?"

M. "No, sir; I can find no reason, or philosophy, or scripture for such a notion. The destiny of each individual will not be determined at the end of time, but it was determined in the purpose of God from all eternity. Man is immortal, and is destined to become more and more Godlike, intellectually and morally, as the eternal ages roll along."

C. "Are wicked men punished?"

M. "In the language of the Bible, I believe, 'He that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong he hath done and there is no respect of person.' 'Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished.' 'God is not mocked; whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. He that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption."

C "You deny, though, everlasting punishment."

M. "I believe in everlasting punishment in the Bible sense of the word, but not in the present popular sense.

Punishment is as lasting as sin; but the Bible no where teaches that sin and wrong are immortal."

C. "How long do you suppose punishment will continue?"

M. "If you will tell me how long men will be corrupt, earthy, sensual, I will tell you how long they will suffer."

C. "Do you think that in the other world all will be equally happy?"

M. "There is, doubtless, different degrees of purity, virtue and happiness, on the other side of the grave. There must be a moral connection between this life and the life to come. As we end here we begin there. Character belongs to the soul, and the death of the body does not make a wise man of a fool, or a saint of a sinner."

C. "Do you believe in the resurrection of the body?"

M. "I believe in the resurrection of *man*, the man that now lives, thinks, acts, but not of the body — these bones and muscles, this flesh and blood. This body connects man with the material world, but when he withdraws from this outer sphere, and lives wholly in the interior world, he has no further use of this physical frame."

C. "Where is heaven?"

M. "Heaven is not a *place*, but a *condition* — a condition of wisdom, purity, holiness. There is a difference between heaven and the spirit world. The latter is a *place* — it may be boundless space. Men may exist in that world without knowing much of heaven, as they exist in this world without much heavenly mindedness."

C. "Well, you entertain curious views. I do not see how you reconcile them with the Bible."

I journeyed on to Terre Haute, where I delivered several discourses. This was then a very pleasant village, and is now a large and flourishing city. Its spa-

cious streets, flanked by trees, shrubbery, lawns, flower gardens and elegant dwellings, give it a charming appearance. It stands on the east bank of the Wabash river, and on the margin of a rich and beautiful prairie. Subsequently a church was organized, and a meeting-house built. I rode to Vincennes, seventy miles down the river, and preached in several villages and neighborhoods, in not one of which the doctrine of the Restitution had before been proclaimed. The people generally attended my meetings, but found only few believers in the Great Salvation.

Returned to Terre Haute; then went up the Wabash river, and spoke in Clinton, Eugene, Perrysville, Covington, Attica and West Point, places I have often since visited. The principles I advocated were new to most of the people in the Wabash Valley, where I was traveling. There was only here and there one who knew anything of our faith. "Why," said a man, "you do not believe in the scriptures, do you?" When informed that I did, he was much astonished; and was perfectly amazed when told that I found my faith in the Good Book. "I don't know what you preach for," said he, "if all will be saved; and as to praying, of course, you don't pray."

I spent one month in Lafayette and Dayton, places seven miles apart. A Methodist clergyman by the name of Smith attended my first meeting in Lafayette, and gave notice at the close, that he should reply in the evening, and invited me to attend, and to reply to him if I should see proper. We had a lively time that evening. Each spoke three or four times, but I was not satisfied with my defense. I considered it a failure though my friends seemed to think I did well. Mr. Smith was a

pretty sharp man, an experienced preacher, and accustomed to speaking without preparation. He knew he had the advantage, and so followed me up for several Sabbaths, evidently determined to drive me out of the country, or shut my mouth. We had five distinct encounters, and in the outcome he got the worst of it, for he spent his strength in the beginning of the contest, while I grew stronger as the discussion progressed. Two years after, I located in Lafayette, organized a church, and commenced the publication of the *Christian Teacher*; and several years after, a meeting-house was erected. In the interim of the discussions with Mr. Smith I preached in Dayton. Here a school teacher tried two or three times to demolish me, but I survived his attacks. Found some excellent friends in this place. During my visit there a church was formed, and a few years after a temple was erected.

Preaching, debating, conversing, visiting and riding, occupied nearly all my time, so that what reading I did was chiefly in the saddle. If I had five or fifty miles to go I would read to the end of the ride. Would pass travelers and farm-houses unnoticed. I recollect after spending a day in thus riding, of putting up at a farm-house for the night. Told the good woman I wanted no meat, tea or coffee for supper. "What do you want?" said she with amazement. "A little bread and milk, if you please, and a whole candle, as I wish to write this evening." The candle, a pig's face, a cold hoe-cake, and a bowl of sour milk were furnished. She went to the neighboring village, Martinsville, and reported there was a crazy man at her house.

Proceeding on my journey with book in hand, I rode to Logansport, where I lectured twice. Have been there

often since. We have now a meeting-house in this pleasant and flourishing town, built by a bequest of Colonel Pollard, who for many years was a prominent merchant of the place. He will long be remembered with gratitude for his noble gift. Though dead he yet speaks. Men of wealth, in disposing of their possessions, would do well to remember religious societies, benevolent and literary institutions, and those tried and faithful men who have grown gray in the service of humanity. Such men devote their time and talent to the world, and old age often finds them poor in this world's goods. Let the rich, when dying, consider them, and the cause for which they have given their all.

Near Plymouth were congregated six hundred Pottawattamie Indians, preliminary to removal to the distant West. Spent several hours with them. Asked the chief where they were going. "I don't know." "Do you wish to remain here?" "Oh yes, oh yes. I leave the bones of my fathers here; but where will my bones, and those of my children, be laid? No matter, no matter. The Indians are doomed." A father and mother buried their child with their own hands. Not a word was uttered, not a tear was shed. "Lo, the poor Indian!" In a few more years the sun will rise on the last original owner of our national domain. Our swords and our vices have been doing their work of death ever since the Indians welcomed the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, and they are rising in judgment and condemning us. A subjugated people must either blend with their conquerors or be annihilated. The Indians will not unite with us, and destruction is their doom. The weak, if they attempt to stand alone, fall. Their only chance of salvation is in alliance with the strong.

Lectured in Laporte and Door Village, then proceeded to Michigan City, where I also held meetings. Also spoke in South Bend. A Presbyterian clergyman opened his battery on me from his pulpit, which has been called the coward's castle. He said Universalism is false for the following reasons: 1st, It conflicts with the justice of God; 2d, With the mercy of God; 3d, With the love of God; 4th, With reason; 5th, With sound philosophy; 6th, With the law of God; 7th, With the gospel of Jesus Christ; 8th, With the Bible doctrine of sin. 9th, It contradicts the Bible doctrine of punishment; 10th, Of faith; 11th, Of rewards; 12th, Of heaven; 13th, Of hell. 14th, Because it is a new doctrine; 15th, Is the devil's doctrine; 16th, Is a wicked doctrine; 17th, A licentious doctrine; 18th, Wicked men and devils preach it. I replied to his long tirade. Our people now have a church, a meeting-house, and a settled minister in South Bend. There is also a church and meeting-house four miles from there, at Mount Pleasant.

I pursued my weary way, on horseback, to Chicago, through swamps and over sand ridges — fighting mosquitoes, fleas, gnats and bedbugs. I used to think in those days that the region between Michigan City and Chicago was abandoned in disgust ere it was half finished. And the few inhabitants on the route were on a par with the country — about half made up. They lived in a wretched manner in log cabins on sand ridges, surrounded by swamps and stagnant pools. Spent three weeks in Chicago, and preached three Sabbaths in an old Court-house to large congregations. Chicago then contained about five thousand inhabitants, and was a hard looking place. There were no bridges across the river, no paved streets, no railroads, but little business,

and its citizens did not dream of the splendid career awaiting their humble town. I found some devoted friends of our cause, but there was no organization, and they had never held regular meetings. While there, I visited most of the Universalist families, was urged to settle in Chicago, but told my friends it was my mission "to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."

Leaving Chicago, I turned my horse towards Cincinnati; passed through Logansport, Lafayette, and Indianapolis. I would ride all day and deliver a long discourse at night. Reached Cincinnati in December, after an absence of six months; during that time traveled twelve hundred miles — all on horseback — delivered one hundred and ten discourses, and received for compensation. one hundred and fifty dollars

CHAPTER V.

During the years 1839 and 1840 I made my head-quarters near Cincinnati, at the house of Robert Cary. Mr. C. had a pleasant home, a fine farm, and an interesting family. His wife was dead; and the family consisted of himself and six children — Susan, Alice, Phœbe, Almina, and two sons — their names I forget. The father and daughters have joined the wife and mother in the heavenly land.

Phœbe, when I was first with the family, was about fourteen years old, and full of sarcasm and wit, for which she was in after years so famous. She did not attend school while I was in the family, but was studious in her habits. She was the picture of health, and assisted her sisters in their daily duties.

Alice was a queenly looking girl, eighteen years old, and in the bloom and vigor of youth. She was thoughtful, studious, talked but little, and was rather reserved in her manners. Her smile was irresistibly winning, but her frown terrible — black as a thunder cloud. I never saw but one of her terrible frowns, and that was enough for one life-time; but happily I was not the subject of it. When in a playful mood, she abounded with fun and frolic, but was often silent and gloomy, though always kind and courteous. The situation at home tended to deepen the shadow on her sensitive heart. The father had married a second wife so unlike the girls in thought, taste, and aspiration, they would not live in the same house with her, and so the mother-in-

law resided, when I was in the family, at her own house in Cincinnati, and the girls remained at the homestead. The father spent most of his time with his children. A judicious woman would have had no trouble with the girls, but she was so unlike their sainted mother, whom they all well remembered, they could not endure her. This family trouble brought much sorrow to Alice's heart, and to get away from it was probably one reason why she and Phœbe went to New York.

Alice published in those days most of her poetical effusions in the *Star in the West*, then issued by J. A. Gurley. George Rogers, who resided in Cincinnati, and an intimate friend of the family, published a long criticism in the *Star* on Alice's poems, but as he had not a quarter of the poetical talent Alice had, he did her great injustice. This fired Alice, and she wrote a reply, but it was never published. She would not let me see it, but Susan said it was all *pepper*. A girl in the neighborhood maliciously reported that *another* person was the real author of Alice's poems, which made her intensely indignant, and she resolved to give the offender a piece of her mind, face to face, but I prevailed on Alice to say nothing to her about the matter.

Soon after Alice's death, I wrote to Phœbe for a photograph of her departed sister and received the following note:

"*New York, May 16th*, 1871.

My Dear Mr. Manford:—I have to ask pardon for my long delay in answering your very kind letter to me. The simple reason is this: I have no picture of Alice that at all represents her. The best one is that in her volume called "Ballads, Lyrics, and Hymns," published by Hurd and Houghton. The Ladies' Repository will have an engraving in the July number, which you will, of course, see.

and which, I hope, will be better than anything I have.

I have by no means forgotten the old times to which you refer; they are much fresher in my mind than in yours. You must have seen great changes as well as I, but none I hope so sad. Nevertheless my faith and hope do not fail me.

Very respectfully yours,
Phœbe Cary.

The best picture I have seen of Alice is an oil painting by Miss Penniman of Chicago, which hangs in my parlor. And by its side is a painting of Phœbe by the same artist. They, probably, are the only portraits on canvas there are of those gifted women. That of Alice, specially, is very life-like.

Since the death of the two sisters, a Memoir of them has been published by Mrs. M. C. Ames, their intimate friend, which I, at this writing, have not had the opportunity of perusing. The Buchtel College, in Akron, Ohio, has done itself the honor to call one of its associations, the Cary Society, in memory of those talented women.

In a few days after returning from Chicago, I commenced a journey through Ohio on my ever faithful horse. Lectured in Mason on temperance. The blasting effects of rum drinking are seen and known of all men, but I thank God that neither my body or my soul was ever polluted by a glass of distilled liquor. Cannot distinguish the different kinds of spirits, and have no inclination to know more about them. Rum selling, and rum drinking, are abominations that make desolate the hearts and homes of multitudes; and it is amazing that sensible men will rush headlong to destruction with the bottle in their hands and their eyes wide open. The guilty parties in this wretched business are, 1st, The manufacturers; 2d, The sellers; 3d, The drinkers; 4th, The authorities that license the traffic; 5th, The com-

munities who empower the authorities to license. Most of the people, then, are guilty, and all suffer more or less, directly or indirectly. But let the friends of temperance labor in season and out of season, to reform the people, and banish the curse from the land. Their noble work will not be in vain; God will crown it with success. I also delivered several sermons near Edwardsville. General Baldwin resided near there — a reliable friend of liberal principles. He was an intelligent and influential man, and devoted to our cause. He was one of the earliest friends of Universalism in Southern Ohio. Although a layman he often spoke publicly in its defense. Subsequently he moved to Illinois; but he carried his religion and zeal with him. He died full of years, and went down to an honored grave.

Spoke in Columbus on religion, also against the death penalty. It is wrong for an individual to kill a man; it is wrong for a state to kill a man. But taking of life is sometimes justifiable. Is this a contradiction? A wretch enters my house, and attempts to murder my family. Either he must be disabled, or he will kill the whole household. In attempting to disable him I take his life. Am I not justified, though I have violated the command, "Thou shalt not kill?" An army in marching through the land, takes provision for man and beast, without the owners permission. Are they not justified, though they have violated the command, "Thou shalt not steal?" A vessel enters a port laden with food; the inhabitants are starving, but the owner refuses to sell or give to the starving citizens. Are they not justified in helping themselves, though in doing so they commit theft? They must either steal or die; and of the two evils they choose the least. It is wrong to steal, but it is a greater wrong

to die if one can avoid it. So it is wrong to kill a man, but a greater wrong is committed when an assassin kills an innocent man. But when the murderer is in custody the safety of no one requires that his life be taken. Put him in prison and keep him there till he can with safety be liberated, and if he never reforms, keep him for life.

The world's mode of dealing with offenders is radically wrong; there is much of the leaven of vengeance in it. They should be treated as morally insane, rather than as criminals. Our penitentiaries should be converted into moral asylums, and transgressors should be put there, and retained there, till well qualified persons, who scrutinize their conduct daily, pronounce them regenerated. And he, who may be sent there for stealing one dollar, should remain till he is no longer a thief; and if he resists all reformatory efforts, keep him till death releases him. It is better for him, and for society, that he should be thus excluded from the world. Man has no right to *punish* his brother man. God has established laws, and if they are violated punishment surely follows. It is our duty to reform the erring. This mode of dealing with offenders accords with the principles of the gospel, and the spirit of Christ; but the penitentiary, the gallows, and the guillotine, correspond with the spirit and principles of Orthodoxy.

When a great crime is committed our blood boils, and we cry aloud for vengeance; but a little reflection will do us no harm. The criminal, likely, inherited a bad moral organization, and was, perhaps, surrounded by evil associates from the cradle to manhood. All this should be considered in dealing with the offender; but the law of man sees it not, considers it not. He is deemed equally as blamable as his associate in crime

who was born and brought up under the most favorable circumstances. But there is great difference between the criminality of the two. The latter sins against much more light than the former, and is a greater criminal in the sight of God. Most of criminals come into this world "half made up," and are educated in crime from infancy upward. Let the state take them under its special care and keeping; protect society from their depredations, and strive to make better men and women of such unfortunates.

Preached in Newark and Zanesville. In the former place a preacher opposed me, but in a gentlemanly manner. The subject of my discourse was *hell*, and the following was the gist of it: 1st. The Bible nowhere locates hell beyond the grave, but rather here on earth. The lawgiver, Moses, writes: "For a fire is kindled in my wrath, and shall burn unto the *lowest hell*, and shall consume the earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains. I will heap mischief upon them; I will spend my arrows upon them. They shall be burned with hunger, and devoured with burning heat, and with bitter destruction; I will also send the teeth of beasts upon them, with the poison of serpents of the dust. The sword without, and terror within, shall destroy both the young man and the virgin, the suckling also with the man of gray hairs. I said I would scatter them into the corners, I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men. To me belongeth vengeance and recompense; their foot shall slide in due time; for the day of their calamity is at hand, and the things that shall come upon them make haste." Moses here tells his countrymen of the consequences of unfaithfulness to the trust committed to them The

Lord would "hide his face from them," "vengeance would overtake them," "the day of their calamity would be at hand," "they would be scattered into all parts of the earth," "the sword without and terror within would destroy them," they would be "burnt with hunger." All these calamities are summed up in the words, "*lowest hell.*" And the history of that remarkable nation shows that the prophecy has been fulfilled. That nation has been cast down to the lowest hell. David testifies that the results of sin are not far off: "The pains of hell *got hold* of me; I *found trouble* and *sorrow.*" Jesus said to the scribes and Pharisees: "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell." Matt. xxiii. 33. And then he added: "All these things shall come upon *this generation.*" 2d. Hell no where in the Bible is said to be endless in duration; and who has a right to assume it is endless? Popes, bishops and councils, have threatened the world with endless torment, if it did not bow to their yoke, but thank God our destiny is not in their hands. 3d. We have no information of the creation of an eternal hell. We read of the creation of the heavens and the earth and all therein, but not a word about the building of a vast prison in which to torment countless millions, world without end. It is blasphemy to charge the God of love with making such an infernal place. God is good, and all his works are good. When creation was finished all things were pronounced *good.* An eternal hell then is no part of God's work. Let this be remembered. 4th. The New Testament never speaks of saving men from hell. It was the mission of Jesus to save us from *sin*, from *darkness*, from a *lost condition*, from *slavery*, from the *present evil world*, but there is not an intimation in the New Testament that God

sent his Son to save us from a hell of his own creating. 5th. The word hell in the Bible does not signify, according to good authority, a place of ceaseless woe. Dr. Adam Clarke, the well-known commentator, says: "The word *hell* used in the common translation, conveys *now* an improper meaning of the original word; because *hell* is only used to signify the place of the damned. But as the word *hell* comes from the Anglo-Saxon *helan*, to *cover*, to *hide*, hence the *tyling* or *slating* of a house is called, in some parts of England, (particularly Cornwall,) *heling*, to this day; and the *covering of books*, (in Lancashire,) by the same name." This admission is fatal to the commonly received views of hell. 6th. The word hell in the Old Testament, is taken from the Hebrew term *sheol*, and learned men of all schools admit, it signifies the state of the dead in general, without regard to their condition. Dr. George Campbell remarks as follows: "*Sheol* in itself considered, has no connection with future punishment." Dr. Whitby, a profound English scholar tells us, that "*Sheol* throughout the Old Testament signifies not a place of punishment, or of the souls of bad men only, but the grave only, or the place of the dead." Other critics admit the same. 7th. In the New Testament, the word hell ten times is from the Greek term *hades*, and that being the Greek rendering of the Hebrew *sheol*, its meaning is the same as its corresponding Jewish word. Hence Dr. Campbell says, "*Hades* occurs eleven times in the New Testament, and is rendered grave once, and hell ten times. In my judgment, it ought never in Scripture to be rendered hell, at least in the sense wherein that word is universally understood by Christians. In the Old Testament the corresponding word is *sheol*, which signifies the state of the

dead in general, without regard to the goodness or badness of the persons, their happiness or misery. It is very plain that neither in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, nor in the New, does the word *hades* convey the meaning which the present English word hell, in the Christian usage, always conveys to our minds. The attempt to illustrate this would be unnecessary, as it is hardly now pretended by any critic that this is the acception of the term in the Old Testament." 8th. The word hell in the New Testament in twelve instances is from the Greek term *gehenna*, and Orthodox scholars thus define that word: "*Gehenna* is a Hebrew word denoting a place near Jerusalem, in which the Israelites, giving themselves up to idolatry, sacrificed children to a heated image of Moloch, which represented the form of an ox. This place, the valley of Hinnom, the Jews afterwards so detested, that they were accustomed to cast into it the unburied carcasses of those whom they desired to punish with unusual severity. It is called a *gehenna of fire*, because Josiah, in order to render the valley of Hinnom more odious, commanded that filth and dead carcasses should be cast into it; for the burning of which there was kept a perpetual fire." 2 Kings xxiii. et seq. This is the testimony of Dr. Rosenmuller, and it is the testimony of all the learned, belong to what school they may. This is the literal meaning of the word, twelve times rendered hell in the New Testament. *Figuratively*, it refers to the temporal desolation that was soon to befall the Jewish nation. The damnation of *gehenna* overwhelmed Jerusalem, the whole land, and the people. Jesus told his countrymen they had filled up the measure of their iniquity, that the vials of wrath and fiery indignation were about to be poured

upon them, that on them would come all the righteous blood their nation had spilt. When these things shall come to pass, said Jesus, "there shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time." He told them over and over, that all these things would surely come on that generation. Theologians now locate all this in yonder world. They might as well assert, that the Ohio valley is the name of a place beyond the grave, and the destruction that befell the Indians therein is immortal woe in a *post mortem* hell.

The gentleman said this was partly right and partly wrong. Met him several years after, when he was preaching the *annihilation* of the wicked. He had made some progress, for it is certainly better to burn us to ashes than to burn us forever. Lectured in McConnersville, where I became acquainted with Mrs. Frances D. Gage, who, since then, has been before the public as a writer and lecturer. Notwithstanding her limited education, she writes good poetry and prose, and is a superior lecturer. She is a noble woman, and devotes her life to noble purposes. Spent several days in Marietta, a beautiful town on the Ohio river. Was urged to settle, and devote all my time to the church in the place, but declined, my health not being sound. Lectured in Belpre. Stopped with General Putman, a descendant of the revolutionary hero of that name — a splendid man, and a devoted believer in the Restitution. Here I met W. H. Jolly, an early pioneer preacher. He traveled most of the time through the wilderness of Ohio, preaching in private houses, school-houses, barns, and wherever he could have a hearing. He received small compensation for his much labor, but did not mind that, as his whole soul was in the work. He was dearly

beloved by his fellow believers. He died soon after, but is still remembered as a devout and earnest man. He had a daughter, a young lady, who wrote well for our periodicals. She afterwards married, and I do not know what has become of her.

In Richmond and Chillicothe I also spoke. In the former place the meetings caused considerable excitement, which brought out a preacher. He abused me, my faith, and every body that entertained it. He was a regular blackguard, and a son of thunder. My clothes being rather seedy, the friends, as a compensation for my labor, presented me with a new suit, and I went on my way rejoicing. Delivered lectures in several places in Highland county. Became acquainted with a brother by the name of Webber, who soon after commenced preaching. After laboring about ten years in Ohio, he moved to Scotland county, Mo., where he died, after traveling and preaching in that state two or three years. His lone grave is on the wide and wild prairie. The last time I saw it, a frail fence enclosed his resting place, and that, ere this, has probably disappeared.

I returned to Cincinnati, May, 1839. Had been absent five months, delivered ninety-three discourses, and traveled, in the saddle, six hundred miles. The succeeding nine months were spent in Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky. Delivered a series of discourses in Warsaw, Ky., which awakened much interest. Dr. Chamberlain, a wealthy and influential citizen of that place, had recently embraced the better faith. He had been a member of the Disciple church, and all who knew him, freely admitted that his new faith had made a new man of him. It expanded his soul, and opened his hand and his purse. His wealth, time and talent, and the latter was of a

superior order, were devoted to the dissemination of the truth. He distributed hundreds of our denominational books through Kentucky, and was ever ready to aid in advancing the good cause. He subsequently moved to Burlington, Iowa, donated to every Universalist church in Iowa one hundred and sixty acres of land, and, I think, gave Lombard College, in Galesburg, Ill., ten thousand dollars in cash, besides many valuable books, and a collection of American antiquities. Lectured three times in Lexington, Ky. One of the preachers in town delivered a long and angry phillipic against the new faith — said, among other mean things, that it is the worst kind of infidelity. I asked, what is there infidel about it. It asserts, there is a God, who rules in heaven and on earth, and that in him we live, move and have our being. Is that infidelity? It teaches that Jesus is the Son of God, and Savior of the world. Is that infidelity? It declares that God will surely and fully reward every virtue, and surely and fully punish every vice. Is that infidelity? It proclaims man to be an immortal being destined to advance onward and upward forever and ever. Is that infidelity? It asserts that our chief happiness consists in communing with God, and living a pure and virtuous life. Is that infidelity? Portions of *your* system, sir, are worse than infidelity. You are a Calvinist; and in the language of John Wesley, "You may call me an infidel, a Turk, a Mohammedan, but don't call me a Calvinist. I had rather believe in no God than believe he is an *almighty tyrant*." You believe in a hell into which God plunges most of the dead, to be the victims of his vengeance world without end. Is there any thing in the baldest infidelity half so infernal as that? You believe God creates us all totally depraved,

not capable of thinking a good thought or performing a good act, and if we do not change our nature, he will roast us in hell forever. And then to cap the climax of infamy, you teach, God *decreed from all eternity*, that the victims of perdition should be born totally depraved, should live wickedly, and in the end should fall into the bottomless pit. If your creed is *religion*, give me *infidelity*. To exchange the latter for the former, would be exchanging heaven for hell.

I also lectured several times near Lexington, at the request of a venerable man by the name of Taylor, a relative of President Taylor. Several years after, I heard Dr. Young, a Methodist minister, tell the following story in his pulpit at St. Louis, about Mr. Taylor and an imaginary clergyman: "There lived an old and rich man near Lexington, Ky., by the name of Taylor, who was a Universalist. He once sent to Cincinnati for a minister of his choice to come and preach for him, and the minister having performed his labor, Mr. T. paid him one hundred dollars. All right; preachers should be paid for their work like other folks. Some time after, the preacher again visited him, by Mr. T.'s request, and he again paid him one hundred dollars. He did right. When the preacher was about departing, he told the old man he needed five hundred dollars, and would be much obliged if Mr. Taylor would lend him that sum for a short time. He did so, and to this day the debt has not been paid. The old man renounced his Universalism, and died a Methodist. If any of you doubt the truth of this story, I tell you it is true as the gospel, for I know all about it." I called on the gentleman the next day, and asked him if he was ever acquainted with Mr. Taylor.

Dr. Y. "No."

M. "Do you know any of his relatives?"

Dr. Y. "No."

M. "But you said yesterday you knew all about this matter."

Dr. Y. "Brother Kavanagh told it to me, and he learned it from a brother in Kentucky."

M. Now, sir, I knew Mr. Taylor, and I suppose I am the preacher you referred to, and I pronounce the whole story, save that Mr. T. was a Universalist, and that I preached in his neighborhood, *false.*"

Dr. Y. "Oh, this took place a *long time ago,* — *before your day.*"

I took occasion to lecture him for telling slanderous tales about the living or the dead. Mr. Taylor took me to Richmond where I spoke twice. Two men came to me at the close of one of the meetings — their hearts were full. They thanked God the scales had fallen from their eyes, and that they now beheld the gospel in all its heavenly beauty. I also preached in Paris, Flemingsburg, and many other places in Kentucky. In the latter place, I remember having in the middle of the sermon a hard ague chill, and had to stop half an hour, when I resumed the discourse.

The new meeting-house in Patriot, Ind., was to be dedicated, and a large party of Cincinnatians chartered a boat to take them there, forty miles down the Ohio river, and back. It was a delightful excursion. George Rogers and E. M. Pingree were of the party — both now in heaven, I trust. We three did the preaching. J. L. Johnson was installed pastor of the church. He had been a Methodist, and still retained some of his old notions, and all of his Orthodox phraseology, consequently had poor success. He soon left us and returned to his

mother church. About this time I attended a discussion in New Richmond, Ohio, between Robert Smith, and a Mr. Fisher, a Methodist layman. Mr. F. was an able man, and better qualified to defend his cause than three-fourths of the preachers of his order. Both being strong men, the discussion was very interesting. Daniel Parker resided there, and had long been in the ministry. He called himself a Restorationist, and would not associate, religiously, with Universalists. I suppose his views corresponded with those of Elhanan Winchester. He was a disorganizer; would not form churches, but was a very sincere, devout and good man. He was also an ardent Abolitionist of the Garrison school, and advocated his cause publicly and privately. He preached one evening, and in the midst of his sermon buried his face in his hands, and wept like a child. Said he had not believed in Universalism one minute in all his life. In his old age, I have understood, he joined the Baptist church.

My health continued feeble, not having recovered from the ague, engendered in the South, but was not confined in-doors. Had a slight chill every day, succeeded by an inward fever, which kept me debilitated. Occasionally, though, I had a violent *shake*. Often when riding, I would have an attack, when I would stop two or three hours, and then resume my journey. I took all sorts of medicine without the desired effect. It finally occurred to me that breakfast might have some connection with my ague, as it returned every morning soon after eating. I refrained from that meal a week, and the ague did not trouble me. Two or three times afterwards, my morning ague returned, but abstaining from breakfast always checked it. I soon entirely recovered;

and since then, with the exception of two attacks of bilious fever, one in St. Louis and one in Chicago, brought on in both cases by walking and riding in the blazing sun, and preaching too much, I have enjoyed perfect health. I certainly have reason to be thankful for the good health I have enjoyed, and for innumerable other blessings, temporal and spiritual.

CHAPTER VI.

George Rogers had traveled in the Southern states, and was urged either to return or send one in his stead. He could not go, and at his solicitation, I consented to journey in Kentucky, Tennesee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina; and from thence I purposed going by sea to Boston, Mass. That was the programme. February, 1840, with horse and buggy, I started from Mount Healthy, on what I expected would be a long and hard journey, through a thinly settled region, and among strangers. Crossed the Ohio river at Cincinnati, and traveled about ten miles on a splendid pike. But at the end of the pike, the sublime and ridiculous joined hands. Horse and buggy plunged from the hard, dry and smooth road, into an ocean of mud and water. This enlightened me concerning the condition of the roads generally; and after floundering in the mud awhile, I succeeded in getting back to dry land, and at once abandoned my contemplated southern journey.

I then resolved to go East through Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts; and in a few days was on my way to the noted city of Boston. Made the whole journey, about one thousand miles, on horseback, in six weeks. Went East to visit my mother, and hurried through rapidly as possible. But I could not travel very fast, the roads being in a bad condition, and the weather often stormy. Lectured in Woodstock to large

assemblies. Spent three days very pleasantly, visiting kind friends, and talking to the people. A church was subsequently formed and a meeting-house erected. Cyrus F. Wait, then a youth, attended my meetings. He soon entered the ministry, and after laboring faithfully many years, laid down his armor, and went home. He lived and labored in Woodstock most of the time he was in the ministry, and was an efficient preacher and an excellent man. Delivered several discourses in Delaware, and had the following conversation with a Baptist clergyman:

B. "You preached in town last night, did you?"

M. "Yes."

B. "If you are right, I cannot be wrong."

M. "If I am right, you are radically wrong, as we essentially differ. If my views of God, Christ, heaven, hell, man, rewards and punishments, are correct, you are in error, of course, wherein you differ from me. Any one with half an eye, and it nearly out, can see that."

B. "Well, I am safe if Universalism is true."

M. "He only is safe whose life is in harmony with the truth. 'Know the truth,' said Jesus, 'and the truth shall make you free.' 'Sanctify them through thy truth, thy word is truth.' Jesus attached great importance to the saving influence of truth."

B. "But I shall be saved as well as you if Universalism is of God."

M. "You will be saved when sanctified by the truth, and not till then. Universalism promises no salvation, in this world or the world to come, without purity of heart. Let that be remembered."

B. "But I thought you believed we should all be saved anyhow."

M. "You thought wrong. There is only one way to be saved, and that is, by the baptism of the truth. Those thus baptized *are saved*, heaven now reigns in their souls; the kingdom of God, which is righteousness, joy and peace in the Holy Spirit, is *within them.* That is the salvation Jesus lived, labored, and died to bless man with."

Delivered a discourse in Circleville, and there met W. Y. Emmett who has recently died full of years. He was long known in Ohio as a faithful minister of the New Testament. His father was a Methodist clergyman, but the son greatly improved on the theology of the father. There are three steps from extreme error, in religion, to truth — Calvinism, Arminianism, Universalism. Perhaps his grandfather was a Calvinist. Passing on, lectured several times in Ashtabula, but sectarianism taking alarm, all doors were closed and I proceeded to Conneautville. Ammi Bond resided there. He has recently died. His ministry was confined, chiefly, to the northeast part of Ohio, and to contiguous portions of Pennsylvania. His personal appearance was attractive; had a well formed head, a Grecian face, and the soul within, corresponded to the man without. From here I proceeded more rapidly on my journey. Called on A. B. Grosh, Utica, N. Y., who was then publishing the *Gospel Advocate.* Crossed the Hudson river at Troy. L. L. Sadler had charge of the church in that city. He had formerly resided in Ohio, and preached extensively in that state as a missionary. The elderly believers in Ohio, well remember L. L. Sadler. He was connected with the *Star in the West*, was a fair writer, and good speaker. After six weeks traveling I reached Princeton, Mass., where my mother resided. Visited my old home

in Haverhill, shed a tear over my brother's grave in Plaistow, N. H., attended a Conference meeting in Boston, and then sailed from Boston for Philadelphia, in the brig Mary Ann, commanded by Captain Chase. We encountered a tremendous storm — an equinoctial storm — which made the vessel roll and plunge fearfully, and set the sailors telling stories of shipwrecks, ghosts and home. The captain, a member of one of our churches on Cape Cod, related the following: The previous season there was a terrible storm off that coast, and many vessels were lost. A friend of his, who ran a vessel between New York and Boston was out in it, and during the hardest of the gale, in a pitch-black night, he was trying to weather Cape Cod, to get into a sheltered position. About midnight, when the storm was doing its worst, he went into the cabin, dripping with salt water, when one of the passengers, a Methodist preacher, enquired how the vessel was getting along. The captain replied, "the wind is driving us rapidly ashore — we shall all be in heaven before morning." "God *forbid*," said the clergyman. This reminds me of a courageous preacher in Indiana. Some boatmen, after toiling all night in a flat-boat on White river, tied up their craft, and sought a place to rest. They selected a barn for that purpose. Over its floor was a scaffold covered with hay, on which they laid their weary bodies. Being much fatigued they slept sound and long. When they awoke, they found there was a congregation worshipping on the floor below, for it was Sunday morning. The preacher was in the midst of his theme — the judgment day, that day for which all days were made. He had got to where the saints were about to be raised, and he of course, was one of them. "O-ah," said he, "I want to go-ah; I am

tired-ah of this wicked-ah world-ah;" and looking straight at the roof of the barn, he cried loud as he could scream, "Gabriel-ah, Gabriel-ah blow-ah that trumpet-ah, that I-ah may leave-ah this ungodly-ah world-ah, and go to heaven-ah. I-ah say-ah, Gabriel-ah, blow-ah that-ah trumpet-ah this-ah minute-ah." The boatmen having a tin horn, one of them at this place in the sermon gave a loud blast, which made every worshipper bound to his feet. The preacher stopped short, cast one agonizing glance upward, and then leaped through and over his flock out of the barn, and ran home fast as his legs could carry him. One old lady, in her haste to get out of the way of Gabriel, broke a limb.

In Philadelphia I was introduced to Asher Moore, a well known minister in the East. Z. Fuller, for many years an influential clergyman in that city, had recently died. Being anxious to return to my western field of labor, I tarried but a few hours in P. Proceeded by railroad and stage over the mountains to Pittsburg, where I delivered several discourses. Thence by steamboat to Cincinnati, and in a few days was on the road to Chicago.

A journey to Chicago from Cincinnati was not as easily, or as quickly made in those days as now. Instead of a few hours, it took, most of the year, about two weeks of hard traveling. Instead of a smooth, iron road, it was about the roughest and softest road ever traveled by man or beast. Considerable portion of it was rail way, but the rails were unhewed logs laid across the track, which endangered the legs of the horse, and the wheels of the carriage, if the traveler had one. Part of the year it was hard finding the bottom of the mud. It was indeed a wretched road most of the way through;

and the driver had to keep both eyes open to avoid stumps, holes and quagmires; and often with good eyes, and they used to the best advantages, he did not escape shipwreck. Lectured in Richmond, Ind., four times. This is a Quaker town. Had a long conversation with a preacher of that order.

M. "You do not pray in public?"

Q. "No; Christ enjoined secret prayer."

M. "True; but he prayed in the presence of others; on the cross in the presence of thousands, 'Father forgive them for they know not what they do.' The seventeenth chapter of John is a prayer offered in the presence of his disciples. The apostle Paul, on one occasion, knelt on the sea shore in the midst of a large assembly, and vocally implored the divine blessing. And most of good men and good women, in all ages and climes, whether Christian or Pagan, have sanctioned the practice. The tongue loves to speak what the heart feels, and a prayer straight from the heart, often has more influence than a good sermon. Of course it is a great sin to pray or preach 'to be seen of men,' but praying and preaching with the spirit and the understanding, are heaven-appointed means for Christianizing man. There is, doubtless, much hypocritical praying as well as preaching, but the abuse of a good thing is not a valid reason for its abandonment. You oppose singing, I understand. Why?"

Q. "The Friends in their worship are governed by the *spirit*, and singing is an *art*, *taught* and *learned*, hence they exclude it from their worship."

M. "Learning to *read* is an *art*, and yet you read the Bible. Speaking correctly is an *art*, but you cultivate correct speaking in your meetings. The *spirit* does not

teach reading or speaking. Music is a divine science, and in studying it we learn of the wisdom of God, and in singing we sing his praise. A good hymn sung correctly is a sermon and a prayer; it unites the hearts of all who hear, and stirs the soul to its depths. Why do you all wear the same style of dress?"

Q. "Because we abhor *fashions.*"

M. "But it seems to me that your people are great lovers of fashion. There is a Quaker fashion, and you all, men, women and children, stick to it through thick and thin. If one of your members deviates therefrom an iota he is dealt with as an offender. You do not run after every fashion, but you adopt the fashion of the times of Charles II., and make no improvement. I despise fashion and consult my own taste, not the frivolous whims of crack-brains in the nineteenth or sixteenth century."

A gentleman here related a singular story. A physician and a lawyer lived in Richmond — they were intimate friends and spent much time together. Both were infidels, and promised each other, that the one dying first, if he found he still lived should return, if possible, to his friend left on earth. The physician died, but the survivor thought not of the promise, for he was sure death had annihilated his friend. Several months after, the lawyer was astonished to see his departed friend enter his office. He slowly approached the couch on which he was lying, for it was night, the full moon was shining brightly in the room, and reminded him of their mutual promise; said he had made several efforts before to visit him but failed; told him that both of them were mistaken about death; that *the man* did not die: he only put off the body and entered on a higher sphere

of existence, and that most of mankind were in error concerning the second stage of life, that being much more like life in this world than many imagined. After an affectionate adieu, he disappeared, promising to return, if possible, but he saw him no more. The gentleman related the circumstance to his friends, and they, of course, laughed, and said he was crazy or asleep, whereupon he went before a magistrate and testified under oath, that what he related was strictly correct. He was ever after a believer in immortality; said he *knew* there was a future life, for he had seen one from the land beyond the vale.

A gentleman in Ohio told the following: He ran a flouring mill, located at the foot of a hill, on the summit of which was his residence. His aged father often spent an hour or two in the mill. One day he observed him enter the building, staff in hand, and after remaining a few minutes, walk out. Nothing was said by either party, and several times they passed within three or four feet of each other. Stepping to the door soon after the old gentleman retired, he saw him slowly ascending the hill. He immediately had occasion to go to the house, and not seeing his father, inquired for him, and was informed he was taking his daily nap. Going into his room he found him asleep, and was told he had been on the bed a full hour.

Another intelligent friend related the following: His family and another family occupied one house in an Ohio town — the former the front, and the latter the rear part of the building, and a gate, two feet from the front door, was the entrance to the rear of the house. The gate swung hard on its hinges, and with much noise. About ten at night, my informant, from his front

door, observed a person on the sidewalk approaching the house; having a peculiar appearance, he requested his wife to step to the door to see who it was. To both he seemed a stranger, and both remarked that he made no noise walking on the stone pavement. When opposite the gate, and two feet from where they were standing, he turned and passed through the gateway to the rear of the building out of sight. Supposing the gate was open, as the traveler did not stop to open it, the gentleman stepped aside to close it, when to his astonishment, he found it shut. On opening the gate it made as loud a report, and required as much effort, as usual. Not being able to account for all this, he inquired of his neighbor if any one had called, and was answered, nay. That night a woman in the rear part of the building died. It is quite fashionable to cry humbug and delusion, when such stories are related; but I do not raise that cry, neither have I a satisfactory explanation to offer. The history and tradition of all nations and people abound with what seems supernatural; and if that part is all false, how can we credit the balance of their history? But most people, after all, have, at least, vague impressions, that the departed have something to do with the world they once inhabited. And why should they not?

Had an appointment in a Methodist chapel in Washington; and while the congregation were assembling, the pastor of the church told us we could not occupy his meeting-house. I told the people as we were not allowed to occupy the Methodist house, we would adjourn to the house of the Lord — a beautiful grove in the vicinity. This being an unexpected reply, and part of the congregation being rather pleased, the preacher

good-naturedly said I might say what I pleased in the Methodist house. Visited many places where I had before spoken, and reached Chicago, August, 1840, where I preached three Sabbaths and then proceeded to Joliet. Lectured there three times. We have now a church in that place and an elegant meeting-house. Aaron Kinney then resided in Joliet, and preached there and in the region round about. He subsequently moved to Farmington, Ill., where he and his wife died. He was one of the first ministers of our faith in Illinois, and encountered many hardships. Liberal Christians were few in number, for the country was thinly populated, and he consequently was poorly supported. But he persevered in the good work until death closed his labors. Delivered one discourse in Peru, but did not find a soul in sympathy with me. The congregation was large, but all seemed afraid of me. Was informed of a friend residing a few miles out of town on the canal, which was then being excavated. Spent one night with him; and though seemingly a good kind of a man, he lived like a hog. The bill of fare for the night was, 1st, A hot night; 2d, A filthy bed; 3d, An army of bed-bugs; 4th, Ditto, fleas; 5th, Ditto, musquitoes. I was glad to leave the dirty hole. Reached Magnolia in the night; and after being refused lodging at half of the houses in the village a poor drunken man took me in. He treated me to the best his cabin afforded, which was poor enough. Found some friends the next day, and delivered several discourses before I left town. A preacher could not let me pass without a hit.

"If this man," said he, "is correct, he is a fool for traveling about this new country preaching. If I believed as he does, I would never preach again."

"My friend," I replied, "I preach the truth, 1st, Because it is the truth; 2d, Because I love the truth; 3d, Because truth benefits man. But you seem to have more regard for party than for truth. What is not found there you seem to care nothing about, be it ever so valuable. You need the baptism of the spirit of truth, for you have been baptized only with the spirit of some party. Jesus, whom you profess to follow, but really run away from, was an ardent lover of the truth. He toiled, bled and died for the truth. He cared nothing for party, but was true to the truth as the needle to the pole. He never varied from it one iota in the darkest hour of his life. When I hear men talk as you have to-day, I know that they know nothing of the spirit of Christ."

Lectured in Hennipen several times. Dr. Pulsifer who had recently moved from the East, took much interest in getting up the meetings. Have often been there since, and always found him a faithful friend. Met several families which formerly resided in the East, and were there regular attendants at the sanctuary, but had not heard a discourse on the Restitution for several years; and their hearts leaped with joy to attend once more a meeting of their choice. "Thank God," said one lady, "for the blessed privilege of hearing the gospel of our salvation once more, before I go hence. The Lord be with you; and may you long live to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ."

During this year was the noted presidential campaign, when General Harrison and Martin Van Buren were candidates for the White House, and the whole country was in an uproar. The air was vocal with "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," and log cabins, and cider barrels were moving in all directions at the tap of the drum. The Dem-

ocrats, disdaining such humbuggery, lost the day, but ever since they have not been a whit behind their opponents in all sorts of electioneering tomfoolery. Whisky, beer and such senseless exhibitions often command more votes than a just cause. Meeting a boy eight or ten years old in the road one day, he cried, "Hurrah for Harrison." Wanting some amusement, I said, "You rascally tory!" "Well, then," said he, as quick as lightning, and jumping from the ground, "hurrah for Dick Johnson and his black ones." That was a poser for a Democrat, for Richard M. Johnson, who was the Democratic candidate for the Vice Presidency, was the father of several darkies. If that boy is living, he is doubtless now one of our stump orators. I made no reply to the little politician, but left him alone in his glory.

Lectured in Washington. A preacher delivered a discourse against the Great Salvation. His chief argument was based on what he termed "the justice of God." "The justice of God," he said, "requires the endless punishment of the wicked." Some of my remarks in reply were as follows: What the preacher calls justice is injustice, is malignity — dark, cruel, infernal malignity. Because frail, finite man, worm of the dust, steps aside from the line of duty, and thereby harms himself and no one else, the Creator of heaven and earth pounces upon him with the wrath and vengeance of a thousand tigers, and pursues him from the cradle to the grave, from the grave to the resurrection, from the resurrection to the infernal regions, and there commissions the devil and all his crew to keep up the chase through the length and breadth and depth of hell forever and ever. Why, justice would turn pale at such injustice. But to make out that such cruelty is pure justice, the preacher said

man violates an infinite law, it being the law of an infinite God, and therefore justly merits everlasting hell-torments. Then all God's laws are infinite, and the transgressor of them deserves endless woe. Breaking a bone, cutting the flesh, eating improper food, are violations of God's laws, and according to the preacher, richly deserve ceaseless punishment. A child or a man steals a pin; that is a violation of the divine law, and merits eternal suffering. If disobeying God's law merits infinite punishment, then obeying it merits infinite happiness. What, then, becomes of the Bible doctrine that "eternal life is the GIFT of God?" Rom. vi. 23. If the gentleman is correct, there are no degrees in crime, in guilt, or in punishment. There cannot be if every infringement of God's law is an infinite offense. He who steals a pin, and he who murders a man commits crimes of equal magnitude, and are equally guilty, and equally deserve infinite punishment.

If one sin merits infinite punishment, ten thousand can merit no more, and so a man will be punished just as long and as severely for *one* sin as for a *million!* Every man and woman, then, that ever lived will have to make their home in an everlasting hell, as *all sin*, and come short of the glory of God. But, said the preacher, Jesus has made an atonement for the sins of the world, has satisfied divine justice, and sinners can escape the penalty due their crimes. How is that? The justice of God satisfied with the sacrifice of Christ? Did Jesus suffer the penalty man merits? Did he suffer infinite misery the few hours he was on the cross? Did he suffer all the pain that all mankind deserve for breaking the law? The preacher must reply, yes. If Jesus satisfied justice for the "sins of the whole world, origi-

nal and actual," as his creed — the Methodist creed — asserts, then will not all be saved? Is not God bound to save all for whom Christ made an atonement? If the gentleman is correct — if the law *is* infinite, if the penalty *is* infinite, if all *do* deserve endless hell-torments, and if Jesus has made "an atonement, a perfect satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, original and actual," all are bound to escape, and reach heaven.

But let the law of God be infinite or finite, man's *guilt* is in proportion to his *knowledge* of right and wrong. An idiot may kill a man, but he is not guilty, for he knows no better. An intelligent person would be deeply guilty for such a deed. Our guilt, then, and the punishment we merit, are in exact ratio with our knowledge of right and wrong. These facts upset the preacher's whole theory of infinite sin and punishment. Justice does not require so much pain for so much sin. To demand that would be vengeance, retaliation, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, just what Jesus condemns. Exercising justice is giving all parties their due — restoring the equilibrium, making the crooked straight, the rough smooth, causing all flesh to see the salvation of God. It is not destruction, but restoration; it does not hurl men from God, but draws them to him; it consigns us not to hell, but exalts us to heaven. This view of justice harmonizes with the mercy and goodness of God, and refutes the absurdity of the poet, that

"A God all mercy is a God unjust."

Lectured in Pekin three times. We have now a church and meeting-house in this place. It was then a small village, is now a large town. Proceeded to Tremont where I spent several days, and lectured four times. At a subsequent visit to this place, I had an appointment in

Washington, twelve miles north, on a cold December Sunday morning. The thermometer was below zero, the snow deep, and the wind blew hard from the north. Started on horseback and was soon very cold. Walked, ran, kicked and thrashed my arms; but this exercise fatiguing me I remounted my horse and soon felt comfortable. But I did not consider what that betokened. A hole being in one of my gloves, I noticed one of my fingers looked rather pale, and was not long in discovering that I was actually freezing. It was then two miles to a house, and on reaching it feeling so comfortable, I hesitated about stopping. I, however, went in, and soon found that my fingers, ears, nose, and face were badly frozen. Remained there till the next day; but if I had not stopped, I should probably have frozen to death, as it was several miles to a house, and across an open prairie.

Spoke again in Washington. The preacher I replied to a few days before, was still howling about the abominations of Universalism, but I said no more to him. Went to Bloomington; lectured three times, and got into a controversy. The preacher, a strong believer in water baptism, was sure there was no salvation without it. I told him his creed damned nearly all mankind. A person might love God and his fellow-men, like John; believe the whole gospel, like Paul; repent of his sins, like Peter, but unless he was immersed in water in the name of Christ, he would be lost forever. If he was correct, heaven would be almost empty and hell crowded; Christ redeem but a small portion of mankind while the devil would get nearly all. The truth is, the wise and benevolent Author of our being bases salvation on *principles*, not on *rites* — not on going into water, eating wafers, drinking wine, or offering incense. Love is the

fulfilling of the law. God is love, his will is love, his power is love, his spirit is love, his work is love, his law is love, his gospel is love, and our whole duty is included in love to God and love to man. The great need of the world is more love and less show and profession; more purity of the heart and less washing of the hands; more soul religion and less materialistic religion.

Proceeded to Urbana. Met a man hobbling along on one leg. He had heard me preach somewhere, and abruptly said:

T. "If all are to be saved, what is the use of being religious?"

M. "I see you have only one leg. I suppose you would like to have two sound limbs."

T. "I would freely give my farm for a leg made of flesh and bones, instead of this concern made of wood, iron and leather."

M. "You remarked a moment since, that you hoped you were a Christian, and expected to go to heaven when you left this world. Do you expect to be a one-legged cripple in heaven?"

T. "Of course not; all will have perfect bodies there."

M. "Well, then, what is the use of troubling yourself about your lameness in this world? You will be all right in heaven. You can hobble out your three score years and ten, and then all will be well with you."

T. "But that is no reason why I should not have a sound body in this world. I want to enjoy all the blessings possible in this world."

M. "My friend, you have answered your question You want a sound body in this world, if you do expect one in the next. So, we should be religious in this

world, if we expect to partake of God's blessing in heaven, for a religious life only is a happy life, a heavenly life."

I then proceeded to Lafayette, Ind., holding meetings in most of the towns on the route. This was the end of my journey, as I did not return to Cincinnati. Had traveled full eight hundred miles since leaving that city, and delivered eighty-eight discourses.

CHAPTER VII.

Instead of revolving around Cincinnati as I had been doing, I resolved to make Lafayette the center of my labors; and for an auxiliary to my work I commenced the publication of the *Christian Teacher*, a monthly journal of twenty-four pages. The first number was issued April, 1841. There were then two other denominational publications in the West — the *Star in the West*, a weekly, in Cincinnati, Ohio, and the *Philomath Encyclopedia*, a monthly, in the eastern part of Indiana. The *Better Covenant* and the *New Covenant* had no existence; the *Glad Tidings* and *Berian* were discontinued. When the first number of *The Teacher* was issued, I had two hundred subscribers, and at the close of the first volume, eight hundred subscribers. I owned no printing materials, but had the work done at the office of the Lafayette *Journal*, published by Major Seaman, a zealous Methodist and an honorable man. He went hence many years since.

In addition to getting out the magazine, I traveled extensively this year, preaching and obtaining subscribers for the journal. Wherever I went I had no difficulty in introducing it, humble and imperfect as it certainly was. I also established a circuit which I traveled monthly. It included Lafayette, Dayton, Yorktown, West Point, Perrysville, Jefferson, Independence, Rainsville, Thorntown, Crawfordsville, Ladoga, Terre Haute, Lockport, and perhaps two or three other places. The dis-

tance round was about three hundred miles. In Perrysville a church was organized this year, and a meeting-house commenced. There was also one formed in Terre Haute, and preparations made to erect a house of worship. In Lafayette, Dayton, and Yorktown, there were also churches established. As I was the only minister in Western Indiana where this work was going on, I had my hands full.

The first time I visited Frankfort, I spoke in a vacant lot by the way-side, as no house could be obtained. The Presbyterian clergyman, Mr. Taylor, told his congregation he had rather the cholera would come to town than a preacher of my stamp. A few months after, he attended one of my meetings, and replied to my discourse. My subject was the Old Testament doctrine of punishment, and I discoursed as follows:

1. As the Old Testament contains a record of God's first revelations to man it is reasonable to expect the whole truth concerning the consequences of wrong doing would be there clearly stated. 2. Also, as that book speaks of the creation of man, and the introduction of sin into the world, infinite wisdom must surely tell the whole truth concerning sin's direful results — tell when and where, punishment is inflicted, and how long it is to continue. 3. The Old Testament contains the law of God. Jesus said, "The law came by Moses." Examine the statutes of any state published by its law-makers, and you will find that the page containing the law also contains the penalty, the whole penalty, for transgressing that law. Is this right, or is it wrong? If it is right for human legislators to write the law and the penalty in the same book, and on the same page, is it not right for the Divine Legislator to do the same? Would not an

earthly ruler be justly deemed a fool or a tyrant, if, in publishing laws he should be silent concerning the full penalty? Is man wiser than God? Does the wisdom of earth exceed that of heaven? For the forty centuries before Christ, was a vast stream of human beings plunging headlong into a bottomless pit, and not a warning given of their impending fate, till they heard the stunning roar of the infernal cataract? This is affirmed by many learned divines. They admit the Old Testament does not teach eternal punishment, but at the same time contend, that from Adam to Christ, the penalty for transgression was eternal punishment, and consequently all nations and people were, during that time exposed to that terrible storm of wrath. Away with such blasphemous imputations. Wisdom, goodness, justice, assure us, that the great Lawgiver kept nought back of sin's penalty, but revealed the truth, and at the time he gave the law. And here it is in such plain language that a child can understand it. I will read from Deuteronomy xxviii:

"It shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do *all his* commandments and statutes which I command thee this day, that *all these curses* shall come upon thee, and overtake thee: Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shall be thy basket and thy store. Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep. Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out. The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation and rebuke in all that thou settest thine hand unto to do. . . . He shall smite thee with consumption, and with

a fever, with blasting and mildew; and the Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, *until he shalt have consumed thee from off the land whither thou goest to possess it.* Moreover, all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee till thou be destroyed; because thou hearkenest not unto the voice of the Lord thy God to keep his commandments and his statutes, which he commanded thee. Because thou servedst not the Lord thy God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things, therefore shalt thou serve thine enemies which the Lord shall send against thee, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things. And thine enemy shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls shall come down, wherein thou trustedest. Thou shalt beget sons and daughters, but thou shalt not enjoy them; for they shalt go into captivity. And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword, among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee."

This language cannot be misunderstood. No lawgiver ever stated the penalty for transgression in plainer terms. The Jews, if they sinned, were to suffer in body and mind, in head and heart, at home and abroad, till they were consumed from the land. But *beyond the land* there is not an intimation that endless woe would be their doom. That the apostle Paul understood the consequences of sin to be temporary, is evident from these words: "For if the words spoken by angels was steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience *received* a just recompense of reward; how shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation?" Heb. ii 23. The apostle here speaks of *past wickedness*, and says it HAD RECEIVED A JUST RECOMPENSE OF REWARD, consequently

the countless millions of the dead were not TO BE receiving it through the ceaseless ages of eternity. They had received a just recompense of reward, and were at rest. All the moral elements of the law are as much in force to-day as when revealed to Moses, and the penalty is the same now as then. Let this be remembered. Good men are blessed *now*, and wicked men are cursed *now*. Goodness blesses the one, and vice curses the other. It is as true now of all who have lived, as it was in St. Paul's day and generation, that they *have* received a just recompense of reward. The Old Testament, from beginning to end, reiterates the same lesson concerning the present blasting effect of vice in all its varied forms.

Mr. Taylor, in reply, admitted the Old Testament teaches that the wicked in *part* are punished in this world, that they have a foretaste of hell this side of the grave, a morsel of what is in reservation for them beyond the tomb. He also admitted, Moses did not teach endless punishment, but the prophets did teach it, though not in as clear language as did Christ and the apostles. A future life was only partially revealed during the Law Dispensation; it was reserved for the Son of God to fully bring life and immortality to light. So of hell; it was obscurely revealed by the prophets, but clearly revealed by the Savior of man.

I rejoined thus: "Hell obscurely revealed by the prophets!" And yet, Mr. Taylor tells us, that from Adam to Christ, multitudes were daily dropping into the infernal regions. Hell should have been revealed more distinctly than death or the grave, for it might have been shunned if timely warning had been given. Only think of a God of love and wisdom imparting existence to human beings, knowing, that by day and by night, from

the cradle to the grave, they were in imminent danger of falling into a fathomless gulf, there ever to writhe in immortal agonies, and yet only OBSCURELY HINT to them their danger. What kind of a God, sir, do you worship? But then heaven, he says, was only obscurely revealed under the law. I am amazed that a good, intelligent and learned, man should deceive himself by such sophistry. It may be consistent for a parent in his last will and testament to withhold knowledge of a great *good* for a given period from his children, but he must be a monster to withhold for a moment knowledge of an *impending evil*, especially if he knows they may escape it by timely warning.

It was nearly midnight when the discussion closed, and I spent the rest of the night, by his request, at his house. The next morning he prayed I might be converted to the knowledge of the truth, and then proposed a public discussion at Frankfort. The propositions were agreed on, but the time was not specified, and I never could induce him to name the date for the debate to commence. He put me off from time to time, and finally the matter was dropped.

About this time, I had a discussion in Independence, Ind., with Mr. Campbell, a Methodist minister, which was my first regular oral debate. Had often had *skirmishes*, but this was my first regular pitched battle, and I went into it with much fear and trembling. I had confidence in the *truth*, but feared I should fail in defending it. And to this day, I never commence a discussion without similar fears; but when I get warmed up, and have the measure of my man, I feel tolerably bold. The subject of discussion was endless punishment. Mr. Campbell was a Scotchman, and pretty wiry. The dis-

cussion elicited much interest, and large assemblies listened to it. The following is the substance of one of my speeches:

The consequences of iniquity were revealed to our first parents in the following words: "And the Lord God took the man, and put him in the garden of Eden to dress it, and to keep it. And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat, but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Gen. ii. 15-17. Here is the first commandment, and its penalty; and we may expect that a wise, just and merciful God would inform our race in its very infancy of the whole results of wickedness. If eternal woe is the penalty, it should have been then and there, at the very gate of Eden, proclaimed in distinct and unmistakable language. The welfare of man, in time and in eternity, required this. If man's everlasting weal or woe depends on his choosing evil or good in this world, that tremendous fact should have been announced in such thundering tones, that its echo would reverberate down all the succeeding ages, through every valley, across every plain, over every mountain, so that all the living, yea, the dead, should hear. If belief in endless woe is the conservative of virtue, and the denial of it infidelity, that dogma should have been proclaimed so loud and so distinct, it should have been so stamped on every heart, that a blazing hell and terrible devils, would have been the first thought of childhood, and not to be forgotten till the eyes were closed in death, and the heart ceased to beat.

But what saith the passage? "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Is that all the penalty?

Every word of it. Not a syllable about endless death, endless misery, endless hell. Mr. Campbell, who authorized *you* to put *endless* before death? You *add* to the Word, and you know what is said of those who do that wicked thing. The punishment was that they should *die*. The Bible speaks of national death, temporal death, death *to* sin, and death *in* sin. But here it cannot mean national death, or death to sin; neither can it mean temporal death, for Adam lived hundreds of years after he sinned. Reference, without doubt, is to death in sin, moral death — death to purity, innocence, virtue, happiness, which is symbolized by his being driven out of the garden. We were all in that garden once. Jesus took little children in his arms and blessed them, saying, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." But Adam was cast out, and most of us share the same fate. Adam, in Eden, represents our childhood, out of it, our sinful state. This death in sin, which Adam suffered, and multitudes of others suffer, is often spoken of in the Bible. Said Jesus, "Let the dead bury the dead;" that is, let the dead in sin bury the temporal dead. "You hath he quickened who were dead in tresspasses and sin. . . . Even when we were dead in sin hath he quickened us together with Christ." Eph. ii. 1, 5. This moral death means a great deal. It includes sin itself, and all its sad results — degradation, debasement, condemnation, darkness, hell, and ultimates often in temporal ruin. This soul-debasement results in jails, penitentiaries and gallows; in slavery, war and tyranny; in premature graves, desolated cities, and ruined nations.

But where and when was the penalty to be inflicted? Mark the words: "IN THE DAY thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Sin and its penalty are bound —

chained together. It does not read they would not be punished till the judgment day thousands of years hence, at the end of time. That is Mr. Campbell's theory; but the truth is, sin and punishment go hand in hand, at all times, and in all places; and if he can prove eternal sinning, I will admit eternal suffering. Notice also, that the punishment was *sure*. In the day thou sinneth thou shalt *surely* die. If you jump into the sea, and cannot swim, you must suffer the consequences; if you swallow a dose of poison, and it penetrates your vitals, you must abide the result; so, he who transgresses the moral law of God, must suffer its blasting, damning effects. "Ye *shall surely* die." The curse cleaves to the sinner till there is an entire transformation of character. But the penalty is not *endless*, else who can be saved? It was not termed endless when it was first revealed, neither is it called endless in any part of the Bible. The gentleman will have to hunt up evidence outside of the Book to make out endless woe for the sins of this life.

Mr. Campbell replied: "The death threatened Adam, was death temporal, death spiritual, and death eternal; and although it is not termed *eternal* in the passage, it is clearly implied there, and distinctly taught all through the Bible."

I answered: Here are two assumptions. 1. That the death was threefold. There is no such intimation in the passage or elsewhere in the Bible. 2. That the death is *eternal*. It is not so termed from Genesis to Revelation.

But I have not room for more of that discussion. Mr. Campbell seemed satisfied with his defense of ceaseless woe, and we parted in friendship.

I got along better with this discussion than I expected, and was more willing afterwards to engage in such

debates. Many well meaning persons oppose religious discussion; they think it does no good, but much harm; but they do not properly discriminate between the abuse and proper use of discussion. That it may be, and often is abused, is not doubted. But what good thing can be named, that is not liable to the same objection? Why, even the best of God's blessings, can be converted into the greatest of evils. Fire, water, air, steam, electricity, when legitimately employed, are immense benefactors to man, but when illegitimately employed, deal death and destruction all around. Man, when answering the end of his being, is almost an angel, but when his noble faculties are prostituted to base purposes, he becomes a fiend. The gospel is the power of God unto salvation to all who cherish it deep in their hearts, but in the hands of wicked men it may deluge the world with blood and tears. So, religious discussion, where truth and error grapple, if conducted with proper motives, and in the right spirit, is a lever of reform. It opens the eyes of the blind, unstops the ears of the deaf, and often takes away the heart of stone and gives a heart of flesh. Hence reformers in all ages have courted discussion. Socrates was a famous debater. Jesus traveled from town to town, and Paul from nation to nation, discussing with the people, and turning the world upside down. Luther, by his controversial tongue and pen, sent the Pope of Rome and Catholic Church, headlong to the gates of their long home. After that tongue was silent, and that pen dry, they rallied and prolonged their existence. Let every subject of human thought be discussed freely, but kindly, honestly, wisely. It will do no harm, but much good. But I have observed that it is the advocates of established theories, exclusively, who oppose

discussion. They do not want their slumbers disturbed by noisy debate. They might wake up and see and hear something new. Cry aloud, reformers; do not be afraid of making a noise in the sleepy hollows of the earth. Say to all, Awake, think, investigate, judge. The divine injunction is, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good;" "Come, let us reason together."

There was so much opposition to liberal principles, the people wanted doctrinal and explanatory discourses, but I always dwelt more or less on the moral and the spiritual. Doctrinal and explanatory discourses, without showing the moral and spiritual bearing of truth, do but little good. In almost every place I went, the preachers were fighting our faith, and slandering its advocates, and our friends wanted me to repel these assaults, which gave my sermons a controversial character, and some times a peppery flavor. But I always kept the great truth prominent in my ministrations, that heaven and everlasting life may be enjoyed in this world; that we should lay hold on them; lay up treasures where moth and rust cannot corrupt, and where thieves cannot break through and steal. And I had the satisfaction of knowing that not only many minds were enlightened by truth divine, but many hearts were improved by its saving influence.

And here I am reminded of an outrageous attack of a Methodist preacher, Mr. Cooper, on our people in Independence. "They are," said he, "the vilest of the vile. The jails, penitentiaries, rum holes, gambling dens, are full of them. They defy heaven and blaspheme God. This is their general character."

I replied: this is all slander, and this lying priest knows it. He knows he bears false witness against his acquaintance, his neighbors, the citizens of this place.

He sins willfully, maliciously, and had better not let the sun go down on his wrath. All who live in this community know he poured out this day vials of falsehood; they know that some of the best citizens of this county are of the faith he condemns; they know that the wicked places he speaks of in this community, are not filled with persons of our faith. He cannot name a grog-shop keeper in this county, who professes to be a Universalist; but I can name a dozen advocates of eternal punishment, and some of them members of his church, who are in that kind of business; and for every gambler here, who ever thought of calling himself a Universalist, I can name ten who will swear over their cards and bottles, there is an endless hell; and for every Universalist he may produce, who uses profane language, I can produce ten advocates of eternal punishment, who blaspheme God and heaven daily by their profanity. I want no better evidence of the immoral tendency of Partialism than the speaker has given to-day; and I am sure that publicans and sinners will enter the kingdom of heaven before characters of his stamp. I do not pretend, that all calling themselves by our name are Christians in life and practice. Are all the believers in immortal woe, Christians? History says, *no;* every man and woman living on earth will say, *no.* The persecutors and murderers of Christ and his apostles; those who pursued the Christians in the first and second centuries of the Christian Era, with fire and sword, were zealous advocates of eternal burnings. The Catholics who tortured, hung, beheaded, quartered, millions of Christians and Pagans, were all staunch believers in hell. Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Puritans, and Independents, who hung Quakers and Catholics, burned witches, and per-

secuted and murdered each other, were all unwavering in the fiery faith. Ninety-nine one hundredths of all the thieves, murderers, pirates, gamblers, rum-sellers, rum-drinkers, are believers in eternal woe. These are *facts* which history and observation substantiate. If Universalism had been believed, and preached as long and as generally as eternal punishment has been, and if mankind were no better than they now are, I, for one, would be ashamed to boast of its heavenly influence. I do not say that all the advocates of eternal punishment are reprobates. There are noble and pure Christians in all denominations, many of them, more of that character than otherwise, but faith in hell has yet the first Christian to make. Believers in that cruel dogma, many of them, are Christians in spite of their faith. The tendency of belief in hell is downward, while the innate goodness of their hearts, and the many truths they cherish, direct them heavenward. I do not contend that all the believers in the Restitution are practical Christians. Would to God they were, but I know they are not. But give this divine philosophy time to do its work in the world; give it time to germinate, root, bud, blossom, and yield its fruit, before you condemn it. Belief in vengeance has had ample time to develope itself in human character, and it has produced its like the world over. Give the doctrine of LOVE and JUSTICE an opportunity to yield its legitimate fruit before you cast it out as evil. Besides, the immoral men who hang at our skirts, were cradled, educated, and grew to manhood, not under the influence of our benevolent faith, but under the guns of Orthodoxy, and it, if any creed, is responsible for their character. But because Universalism does not do in a day what Orthodoxy has failed

to do in years, it is said to be immoral in its tendency!

About this time, I had a discussion in a grove near Burlington, Ind., with Harper Hanna, a Methodist minister, which continued four days. I had not been in the neighborhood before the discussion commenced, neither had a discourse on the Restitution been delivered there, consequently the people were ignorant of our faith, and strongly prejudiced against it. On the other hand, Mr. Hanna was in the midst of his friends and had the prejudices of the community in his favor. It was a daring thing to debate under such circumstances, but I went through with it, and had the satisfaction of knowing I did not labor in vain. Had afterwards monthly appointments in the neighborhood. It was amusing to see the people scan me, watch every motion. Had I been an elephant I would not have been the subject of more curiosity. The themes of discussion were Endless Punishment and Universal Salvation. In my first speech I said:

Confine a man in prison one year — that is a severe penalty. Keep him there ten years — that is an awful infliction. Keep him there his whole natural lifetime — that is dreadful beyond description. But what is one year, what are ten years, yea, seventy years of imprisonment, to *endless* suffering in hell? Let all the suffering of head and heart, soul and body, that all mankind have endured in all ages, and all climes, be combined in *one pang*, and that one pang would not amount to as much woe as one soul will suffer if doomed to endure ceaseless misery. The fires in which the damned will live and move, will be in full blast when this earth shall be gray with age, when the flames of the mid-day sun shall flicker like the dying taper in its socket, yea, they will contin-

ue to burn deep into the souls of countless millions while heaven shall stand and God exist. That is endless misery; and that is what Mr. Hanna affirms, and is trying to prove will be the doom of a large part of mankind. It is a dreadful work to charge the God of heaven with doing. It is blasphemy to stand up in this beautiful world, amid the manifestations of God's love, and charge the Author of all these blessings, with inflicting an eternity of woe on worms of the dust. I believe in punishment — in righteous, just punishment — but I do not, dare not, believe, that the Father of all mercies, whose name and nature is love, will, for the sins of a day, doom innumerable multitudes of his offspring to blow the fires of hell forever.

At the close of the debate he adopted a little expedient he was sure would be a perfect success — to him. He wanted the assembly to decide by *vote*, which party had triumphed in the discussion. Being in the midst of his friends, and relying on the prejudices of the people, he doubted not that an overwhelming majority would crown him victor. I was of the same opinion for the same reasons, hence opposed his crafty manœuvre. But being determined the assembly should vote he was the the hero of the day, he requested all to rise who thought Harper Hanna had sustained his propositions. About one fourth of the congregation heeded his call. He looked the picture of amazement at so few voting he was the conqueror. "Get up," said he, "you misunderstand me;" and he again called on all to rise, who thought Harper Hanna had sustained his cause. Not another was added to his voting friends. Finding he could drum up no more, he requested all to stand up, who thought Mr. Manford had proved that Universalism was the gos-

pel. Two thirds of the assembly bounded to their feet. Poor Hanna turned pale as death, and uttering not a word, sunk into his chair.

Returning to Lafayette, I rode in company with a man who had heard of the debate, but did not know me.

Stranger. "There has been a discussicn in Burlington on Universalism."

M. "Did you attend?"

S. "No; it is wrong to hold such discussions. Universalism is a *lie*, and every Christian should call it a *lie*, and have nothing to do with it, or its advocates. It is the devil who induces Christians to debate with Universalists. It is one of his schemes to lead souls down to hell. Several of my neighbors came home from the discussion, advocating that wicked doctrine. They were Christians, but I fear they are ruined. Two of them say they shall withdraw from our church. Mr. Hanna did wrong in debating with that Manford. He has introduced a viper into this county, and I fear some are already stung to death. Well, I did my duty. I stayed at home, and did all I could to keep my neighbors at home. But they were possessed with a desire to hear the debate, and the result is even worse than I expected. Our minister is going to try to undo the evil in our neighborhood. Next Sunday he will preach a sermon against Universalism."

M. "Did your minister hear the discussion?"

S. "He did; and he says he went there to learn what could be said in favor of such a doctrine. He is sure he can convince all it is false as sin. One of my neighbors says he shall send for Manford to reply to him. But he cannot speak in our church. He may be sure of that."

CHAPTER VIII.

Soon after the discussion with Harper Hanna, spoken of in the preceding chapter, I had one in Lafayette with Mr. Jeffries of the Protestant Methodist church. It continued four days. One of my principal proof-texts was 1st. Corinthians, 15th chapter. Spoke as follows: This is one of the longest chapters in the New Testament. The apostle discourses on life and death, mortality and immortality, the earthy nature and the heavenly nature. The author makes two general statements: 1st. All die in Adam. 2d. All shall live in Christ.

1st. "As in Adam all die." This does not say we die because a man did so and so, six thousand years ago. Adam is a Hebrew word, and signifies *man.* Job says, "*Man* that is born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble." In the original it reads, *Adam*, instead of man. That Adam simply means man, or mankind, is evident from the account of the creation of our race in Genesis. "Let us make *man* (Adam) in our image, after our likeness, and let *them* have dominion." Here the plural pronoun shows that the word Adam is employed collectively, meaning *mankind.* "And God created *the man* (the Adam) in his own image: in the image of God created he him; male and female created he *them.*" Here both the application of "male and female" to *the Adam*, and the plural pronoun at the end of the verse shows that the man is used generically, and that it is equivalent to the first of *mankind.* The word Adam, then, was not a proper name, but an appellative noun for

the human species; its application to the first man, as his proper name, was subsequent and secondary. Hence when the apostle says, "As in Adam all die," he means, As in the Adamic nature, the earthy, corruptible, mortal nature, all die.

2d. The other statement is contained in the same verse — "Even so in Christ shall all be made alive." "Made alive in Christ," is contrasted with "die in Adam;" and as Adam means the earthy nature, so Christ means the heavenly nature. Here is universal death in the earthy nature, and universal life in the heavenly nature. But in our Adamic nature is the *germ* of the Christ-nature, as in the seed is the germ of the future stock — so teaches the apostle. "But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? And with what body do they come?" In answering these questions the apostle shows, that the germ of the heavenly man is in the earthy. "Thou fool! that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die." A seed is composed of two distinct parts, two grand divisions. So is man. The *body* of the seed corresponds to our mortal body; the *germ* to our spiritual nature. When the farmer or gardener puts seed in mother earth, death, germination and a resurrection take place. But what dies? What germinates? What is raised? Is the *body* of the seed raised? All know it is not. Dig to the roots and there is the old body, dead, decaying and returning to dust. So with our mortal body. It dies, decays and returns to dust. But when the body of the seed dies, the *germ* does not die. The germ does not share the fate of its body. But rather, when the body dies, the germ lives; and what is death to the body is life to the germ. So with man, according to the apostle's illustration. This *body* dies,

but the *spirit* does not die. The spirit does not share the fate of the body. But rather, when the body dies, the spirit lives, and what is death to the body is life to the indwelling spirit. How clear is the apostle's illustration and how instructive. The body of the seed corresponds to this mortal body. The germ corresponds to the inner man, made in God's immortal image. The death of that body corresponds to our physical death. The germination of the germ corresponds to our resurrection from the dead, and that germ coming forth and clothing our fields, gardens and lawns in beauty and glory, corresponds to our immortality when this mortal body shall be dead and gone.

It is supposed by some profound investigators and thinkers, that all material things are only emblems of the spiritual: that the physical universe is only an emblem of the spiritual universe. Whether that is so we may not now know, but according to the great apostle, the germination of the seed is an emblem of our resurrection. It points to that great FACT of our future. Every flower in the garden, every blade of grass on the earth, every leaf in the forest, bids us see in our death a glorious resurrection. But notwithstanding we are surrounded by so many guide-boards directing us heaven-ward, there are some who doubt a resurrection, doubt a future life. They have eyes but they see not; ears but they hear not; understanding, but understand not.

"So," says the apostle, referring to this instructive illustration, "is the resurrection of *the dead*"—all the dead, all who die in the earthy nature. In the words, "It is sown," the writer refers to the seed sown in the ground, still making it an emblem of man. Man sows in corruption, dishonor, but is raised incorruptible, glorious.

The second body is more glorious than the first, as the rose is more beautiful than the seed. These citations show what the apostle means by the words, "made alive in Christ;" and remember, that all who die in the Adamic nature are thus to be made alive.

"Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father," etc. (See verses 24-28.) Here we learn what is to be destroyed. 1. "All rule." 2. "All authority." 3. "All power." 4. "Death." And mark you, death is the LAST enemy. My friend asserts, death is NOT the last enemy, but beyond death, and IN HELL, there are legions of enemies to be the everlasting tormentors of countless millions of mankind. If the gentleman is correct, death is not the *last* enemy, but rather the *first real enemy*, and opens the door to the fires, furies, and demons of perdition, which will burn and lash their victims world without end. Let it also be noted, that the last enemy is to be DESTROYED. The apostle continues his statements concerning the subjugation of all things to God thus: "And when all things shall be subdued to God, then shall the Son himself be subject to him, that put all things under him that God may be all in all." This is THE END — the end of Christ's reign — the end of sin, error, suffering and death, when mankind shall be subdued to God, and God ALL IN ALL. The sum of this chapter, then, is this — all mankind are mortal, corruptible, and must die: death is destruction to the *body*, but life to the *soul;* glory, honor and immortality, are the rich inheritance of mankind.

"The apostle," replied Mr. J., "teaches the resurrection of the *body*, not of the *spirit*, and I admit he teaches the resurrection of all the dead, and when that shall be

effected the absent spirits will claim their long lost bodies."

I rejoined: The gentleman tells us, this chapter teaches the resurrection of the bodies of all the dead. If he is correct, God will raise the *bodies* of saints and sinners, Jews and Gentiles, incorruptible, glorious, heavenly, and then unlock hell, and take the deformed, corrupt, wretched spirits, that have been imprisoned in that foul dungeon for thousands of years, and perhaps millions of ages, and put them into some of those beautiful, glorious, heavenly bodies. That would be a union of perfect purity with total depravity, a marriage of heaven and hell, and two bodies so totally unlike would fly asunder like fire and water. The truth is, the apostle speaks, not of the resurrection of this mortal body, these bones and muscles, this flesh and blood, but of *the man* — the inner, spiritual, real man. This body is necessary, while we are denizens of earth. By means of it the spirit is connected with the outer world, but when we shall be dwellers of the spirit land, we shall have no use for these mortal tabernacles.

In his first speech on the proposition relating to endless punishment, Mr. Jeffries boasted he should make short work of me and my faith. "I have," said he, "one text to quote, and one question to ask. The text is Matt. xii. 31, 32. 'Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.' And this is the question: If the sin

against the Holy Ghost is not forgiven in this world or in the world to come, *where will it be forgiven?* I once had a debate with Jonathan Kidwell, and I read this verse, and asked this question, and the discussion *closed*, for Mr. Kidwell could neither answer the question nor explain the passage so as to save Universalism from total destruction. The debate was to continue four days, but it lasted twenty minutes."

I responded as follows: The gentleman pretends he once "used up" a man by one question, and one text, and he expects to demolish me in the same easy and summary manner; but the sequel may show he is over sanguine.

1. If "this world and the world to come" means this life and the life to come, as my friend asserts, then, *all sin*, save the *one sin* against the Holy Ghost, may be forgiven in the *future state.* The passage reads, "*All* manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men." The parallel passage (Mark iii. 28) reads, "*All sins* shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and [all] blasphemies wherewithsoever they shall blaspheme." It is clear as daylight, from these passages, that *all sins*, except the *one* specified, can be forgiven "in this world or the world to come." If the gentleman is right in his application of the passage, *all sins but one* may be forgiven in the future state of being, and his creed is consequently *false*, for it asserts God will not permit a sin to be forgiven on the other side of the river, but every stain that darkens our character when we shuffle off this mortal coil, SHALL be retained forever and ever. He must either abandon his text or his unforgiving creed.

2. The gentleman relies on the word, *shall* — the sin against the Holy Ghost *shall* not be forgiven. That

word occurs twice in the passage, and I wish to call his special attention to where it occurs the second time. ALL SINS SHALL BE FORGIVEN. If *shall* is to be understood in the absolute sense in one place, it must in the other, and then the passage means, that all sin, except that *one* against the Holy Ghost, SHALL be forgiven somewhere — either in this world or in the world to come. The passage, then, instead of blasting our blissful hope that all sin and wrong will ultimately end, strikes a death-blow at the gentleman's creed concerning the immortality of wickedness of every name and grade.

3. It is by no means certain, that "this world and the world to come," means this life and the life to come. The most learned of all schools tell us, the passage should be translated, this *age* and the *age* to come, meaning the Jewish age or dispensation, and Christian age or dispensation. Dr. Adam Clarke takes this view of the words: "Though I follow the common translation, yet I am FULLY SATISFIED the meaning of the words is, neither in this *dispensation*, viz., the Jewish, nor in that which is to come, viz., the *Christian. Olam ha-bo, the world to come*, is a constant phrase for the times of the Messiah, in the Jewish writings." Bishop Pearce says, "Rather, neither in this *age*, nor in the *age* to come;" meaning the Jewish and Christian dispensations.

"Ah!" said he, in his next speech, "if the sin against the Holy Ghost was not to be forgiven in the Jewish age or Christian age, when was it to be forgiven? Now, I have got you as I did Kidwell. The Jewish age commenced in the days of Moses and ended when Christ was crucified; the Christian age commenced then, and will not end till death shall be swallowed up in victory.

When and *where* can that sin be forgiven? Will Mr Manford answer?"

Reply. The Jewish and Christian ages belong to *this stage* of existence, and when the Jordan of death is passed, man is not living in the Jewish age or Christian age, but in the *Spirit age*, *Spirit world*, and the passage does not intimate that either that or any other sin cannot be forgiven there. The truth is, the wisdom, the light, the glory of the spirit world will finally transform every soul into its image. When the sun crosses the equator on the twentieth of March, how dead the vegetable kingdom lies — horror then wide extends his desolate domain. But the sun soon begins to impart his renovating grace to root and seed, resulting in a *general resurrection* on hill, plain and dale. Nothing can resist his influence; all vegetation comes forth to newness of life. So, the wisdom and love of heaven, corresponding to the light and heat of the sun of this world, will illuminate and warm every soul, and quicken each and all into newness of life. Say not, then, that sin cannot be put away on the other side of the river. We should not cheat ourselves by deferring Christian living till middle age, or we enter the spirit land; but in the words of Dr. Watts,

> "While the lamp holds out to burn,
> The vilest sinner may return."

The *lamp of life* will burn forever. The time or place will never be known, where and when, the sinner cannot return to truth, to virtue — to God. Every tree and shrub is invigorated and developed by the sun's life-giving beams, so the great spiritual Sun does not shine in vain; every soul will be blessed by his divine emanations. In the language of the Bible, "All nations whom thou

hast made shall come and worship before thee O Lord, and glorify thy name."

"You forget," said my opponent, in his last speech on the above passage, "that those who committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, were in danger of *eternal damnation.*"

No, sir, I have not forgotten that; neither have I forgotten, that if the sin named is absolutely *never* to be forgiven, the person who commits it is not in *danger* of suffering damnation, but is *sure* of suffering it — just as sure as he has sinned. There is no remedy; his doom is sealed. The passage, then, clearly implies, that the punishment named *may* be arrested, and hence not unpardonable. This is an important consideration. Again, the word, *eternal* is from the same Greek term that *world* in the passage is, and Dr. Clarke, as we have seen, says it means *age*, and learned men of all denominations admit it, signifies age, time, life-time. I have now noticed every point the gentleman made on this noted passage, and it is evident that it affords the dogma of immortal wretchedness no support.

Delivered several lectures on the Tippecanoe battle ground, and became acquainted with many persons, who have ever since been my steadfast friends. This famous spot is six miles north of Lafayette. There is a marsh on one side, and a small stream, with a narrow bottom, covered with thick woods, on the other. The distance from the swamp to the stream is about three hundred yards; and on this narrow belt of ground General Harrison's army was encamped, and the battle fought. No military man, I suppose, would deem that a safe camping-ground amid hostile Indians. But Harrison did not expect the savages would fight, but rather treat for

peace; but he should have been more cautious. He repelled the attack with heavy loss to his army; but if he had been defeated, he would have suffered sorely, for the Wabash river was in his rear, only one mile distant, and that without bridge or boats.

I also spoke in Monticello, and was replied to by a Methodist minister. My text was, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned." The gospel, I said, comprises the theological and moral doctrines of Jesus. He taught that God is the Father of the spirits of all flesh; that the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the wise and the ignorant, the black and the white, the slave and his master, are alike the children of God, and belong to, and compose one family; that the inexhaustable bounties of God's storehouse are accessible to all, and that the Master of the feast invites all to partake of them freely and live. He dooms none, and never will doom any to eternal starvation. "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and ye that have no money, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price." If we are wise and partake of this feast of fat things, we live divinely, are blessed with salvation, and the kingdom of God, which is righteousness, joy and peace in the holy spirit, reigns in the soul. But if we shun the rich provisions of the Father's board, walk on the other side, choose darkness, error and sin, rather than light, truth and virtue, woe be to us. Every heavenly principle, every law of God condemns us till we set our faces heavenward, and turn our steps upward.

"There was not," said the preacher, "one particle of gospel in that sermon. Mankind were lost and ruined

by the fall of Adam. The seal of eternal damnation was *burnt* deep into the hearts of all by Adam's apostasy, and God became incarnate to make it *possible* for man to be saved. Those who believe in the incarnate God are saved from hell, from the wrath of God, and the curse of the fall. Those who reject the crucified Jesus are lost beyond redemption, and the seal of damnation will burn deeper and deeper into their immortal souls. They will justly be abandoned by God, Christ, angels, and all the saints will say *amen.*"

He was one of the most orthodox of preachers. When in the pulpit, he was always harping on the mysterious jargons of his creed, with his face elongated, and a countenance bordering on despair; but out of the pulpit he was a boy, and a foolish boy too. When preaching in Logansport, shortly after General Tipton died, a noted citizen of that place, he cried, "There, General Tipton, that old sinner, is dead and in hell." A son of Mr. Tipton, soon after gave him a pretty hard thrashing for talking thus of his father. He begged for mercy, and promised to talk in that style no more.

During the first two years of my residence in Lafayette, I seldom met a minister of my faith. There were two others in Indiana, but being aged men did not preach much; but after that time I had more ministerial associates. D. Vines, of Frankfort spoke some in public. His intentions were good, but his qualifications meagre. Subsequently he became a Swedenborgian, or Spiritualist, and I have lost sight of him. Samuel Oyler of Jefferson also entered the ministry. He preached only three or four years, and then came out a lawyer, and, I understand, succeeds well in that profession. I. M. Westfall of Thornton left the Methodist church, of which

he was a lay-member, and commenced preaching without any preparation, save strong faith and ardent zeal. He has good ability, and soon became a popular speaker. He remained in Indiana about one year, and then moved to Iowa City, Iowa. At the present time he resides in Minnesota, and is still engaged in the good work. At Perrysville, where I had preached monthly for two years, a meeting-house was erected, and a church organized. Being in Oxford, Ohio, I met with B. F. Foster, a young man, who had just commenced preaching, and prevailed on him to move to Perrysville, and take charge of the church in that place. He, however, soon left P. and located in Terre Haute, where our friends were building a fine meeting-house.

An Association, embracing the country from Terre Haute to Lafayette, called the Wabash Valley Association, was organized. The meeting that organized it was held in Perrysville, and it was an enthusiastic gathering. Seven or eight churches were represented, all recently formed. Many went on horseback, in wagons and carriages, thirty, forty, and fifty miles. Our friends were alive with zeal, and did not mind traveling fifty miles to a good meeting.

The United Brethren held a noisy meeting in Warren county, and to warm themselves up for the work at hand would all sing as loud as they could scream,

The devil is mad,
And I am glad,
Glory, O hallelujah.

The devil may pout,
But I will shout,
Glory, O hallelujah

I noticed this meeting, and published this hymn, in *The Teacher*, which made the Brethren very indignant.

One of the preachers took the matter up the next Sunday, and said, "That little Universalist preacher that lives in Lafayette, and prints that paper, is mad because we sing about his daddy."

I attended, on a dark and gloomy night, a fanatical camp-meeting of the Methodists, near Ladoga. It was held in a dense forest. When a mile from the ground, heard the noise of the nocturnal worshipers. Arriving at the camp, the scene that opened to the vision, beggared description. The whole camp was in an uproar Preachers were preaching, exhorters exhorting, singers singing, shouters shouting, and jumpers were jumping. Some seemed to be suffering intense agony, others happy as clams at high water. Some kept their seats, while others were hopping, skipping and jumping like chickens with their heads cut off. One man ran past me without looking to the right or left. "Where are you going?" said I. "To glory." A preacher screamed, "The devil is in the camp, and must be driven out. Get the horn, form in line, march round the ground three times, blow the horn, the devil must be driven out, the walls of Jericho shall fall." The procession was formed, the horn blown, and the march made. Whether satan was driven out, and the walls fell at this demonstration, the master of the ceremony did not see fit to inform us. I left the ground about midnight, when the excitement was under full headway, seriously reflecting: Is this the proper way to worship God? Does he require us to make fools of ourselves, and act like bedlamites? Is religion fanaticism? Is regeneration an hallucination? I will not believe a word of it. Religion consists in love to God and man. Noise, uproar, fanaticism, are not worship, are not religion. God speaks to the soul with the still small voice of inspiration

and intuition, and the truly pious make but little outward demonstration. Empty wagons make much noise, heavy laden ones pass our streets without hardly being heard. But then I do not wonder at the noise, lamentation, agonizing, and every other extravagance, of these people. They think God is frowning on the world, that his wrath is kindled to its hottest pitch, that he has already banished most of the dead to the infernal regions, and that during every moment of time crowds are driven from earth to hell, and that all stand on the very brink of a bottomless pit. No wonder the victims of this terrible belief are nearly insane. Strange they are not all raving mad. O God, enlighten their minds concerning Thee, whom to know is life eternal.

I visited Michigan City, by request, and delivered four discourses. An Episcopal clergyman took the trouble to go about town, and destroy all the printed notices of the meetings, and tell the people to keep away. But large congregations attended, and all seemed much interested.

The distance from Lafayette to Michigan City is about one hundred miles, and for fifteen miles on each side of the Kankakee river, there was not in those days a house. It commenced raining on my way to Michigan City, when I had reached the south margin of that wilderness of prairie, and poured down in torrents till I made the first house, thirty miles distant. It was swamp nearly all the way, and the flood of that day made the road almost impassable. I sometimes thought I should have to return; but about ten at night reached a cabin, drenched with rain, covered with mud, and hungry as a bear.

A Presbyterian elder by the name of Smith being eager for a debate, we had a little brush at Dayton in his

meeting-house, and the elder did one pretty hard day's work. The poor man was frightened out of his wits, and his nerves were so agitated he could not hold his Bible steady enough to read his texts. I pitied him, but dealt blows as hard as I could strike. He was disgusted with himself, and proposed, a few weeks after, to try again, hoping to do better. We spent two more days in discussion at Rossville, near his home; he then willingly retired.

A few days after this affair, had a four days' discussion with Mr. Coon, a Scotch Presbyterian, and Calvinistic "up to the hub." He was a prominent man in his church, intelligent, and well educated. He subsequently published a book of three or four hundred pages, against the doctrine of the Restitution, and in defense of eternal punishment. The discussion was held in Jefferson; and though the weather was intensely cold, a large number attended. Mr. Coon being a strong man all were anxious to hear. He had thoroughly prepared himself for the work. It took two or three men to carry the books he used on the occasion, to and from the meeting-house. I had my Bible, and perhaps two or three other books. He talked English, and Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew. Mr. Taylor, a Presbyterian minister, who had just closed an eight days' debate with John O'Kane, of the Disciple church, was one of the moderators, and he begged the Lord to help Mr. Coon on that important occasion.

"These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal" (Matt. xxv. 46,) was one of his proof-texts. "This passage," said he "teaches the endless punishment of the wicked, for the following reasons: 1. It relates to what would transpire at the

end of the world. This, and the preceding chapter, is an answer to the questions, 'What shall be the signs of thy coming and of the *end of the world*?" Matt. xxiv. 3. 2. 'These' were to go into everlasting punishment when Christ would come the *second time*, and that event was to take place at the end of the world. 3. Everlasting and eternal are from the same Greek word, consequently the everlasting punishment is to continue as long as the eternal life. If one ends so will the other. 4. The best scholars tell us, that the Greek word here rendered everlasting and eternal, signifies *endless duration.*"

I replied: Mr. Coon asserts, that his text was to be fulfilled at the *end of the world* spoken of in Matthew, xxiv. He is doubtless correct. Now, learned men of all denominations admit, that *world* there means the Jewish Dispensation, and the *end* of the world the end of that Dispensation. Most of them translate the passage, "end of the AGE." It is so rendered by Doddridge, Macknight, Whitby, Pearce, Le Clerc, Hammond, Wakefield and Kenrick — all learned men, and save one or two, advocates of endless misery. The word, *world* is often used in this sense in the New Testament. "Now once in the end of the world hath Christ appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." Heb. ix. 24. Christ did appear at the end of the Jewish Dispensation for that purpose. The Jews divided time into *two ages* —the *age before* Christ, and the *age after* Christ. The *first age* ended, as Paul says, "when Christ appeared." The end of *the world*, then, took place eighteen hundred years ago, and *then* the gentleman's text was fulfilled.

2. When Christ was to come the second time, some were to "go away into everlasting punishment." When was he thus to come? In this same discourse Jesus

speaking of that coming affirms it would take place in *that generation.* "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man, ... and they shall see the Son of man coming." He then states when he would come: "This *generation* shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." Matt. xxiv. 30, 34. On another occasion, addressing his disciples, he said, "But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another; for verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of man be come." Matt. x. 27. He would come so soon the disciples would not be able to visit all of Israel's cities. At another time he said, "For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels: and then he shall reward every man according to his works. Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom." Matt. xvi. 27, 28. He was to come the second time before some would die who heard these words. He intimated that the apostle John would live to witness this coming. "Peter seeing John, saith to Jesus, Lord, what shall this man do? Jesus saith to him, If I will that he *tarry till I come*, what is that to thee? Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that the disciple would not die; yet Jesus said not to him, He shall not die; but, If I will that he *tarry till I come*, what is that to thee." John xxi. 21-23. It requires considerable effort to misunderstand these plain statements. Jesus then, told his hearers, he would come the second time, 1. In the generation in which he lived; 2. So soon the disciples would not have time to visit all Judah's cities; 3. Before some he addressed would die. In the face of all this testimony, Mr. Coon tells us, that coming is *yet future*! The truth is, that coming took

place at the *beginning* of the Christian Dispensation, at the *ushering* in of the Gospel Age, at the *setting up* of the Kingdom of God. The revelator, who was the disciple John, says, he "saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven." Rev. xxi. 3 Judaism passed away, Paganism died, and a new order of things had commenced — old things had passed away, all things had become new. The world had entered on a *new era*. This is what Christ meant by his coming in *power* and *glory*.

3. The gentleman truly says, that everlasting and eternal are from the same original word. He then *assumes* that "eternal life" in his text means endless blessedness, and then *infers*, that "everlasting punishment" means endless wretchedness. His assumption and inference are alike fictions. According to the New Testament, the Christian, in this world, is in possession of eternal or everlasting life. "He that believeth on me HATH EVERLASTING LIFE." "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, HATH EVERLASTING LIFE, and shall not come into condemnation, but IS PASSED from death unto life." John v. 24. "This is LIFE eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." John xvii. 3. Eternal life is gospel life, is *spiritual life*, and every Christian man and woman is now in possession of this life. When a person is *alive* to every thing holy and good, possesses the spirit of Christ, and lives the life of Christ, it may be truly said of him, he "HATH everlasting life." So, when a man's character and life are the reverse of this, it may be truly said of him, he HATH everlasting punishment. If everlasting life can be enjoyed here, cannot everlasting punishment be

suffered here? Again, a person may be a Christian to-day, and so in possession of everlasting life; but his love may wax cold, he may become a sinner, an unbeliever, an infidel; he will then be no longer in possession of spiritual life. So, an infidel and a sinner of to-day may become a saint, like St. Paul; he then passes from death to life, from suffering everlasting punishment to the possession of everlasting life. But, by everlasting punishment, Jesus had direct reference to the temporal desolation, soon to befall his countrymen. The kingdom was to be taken from them, and they cast out into outer darkness till the fullness of the Gentiles should come in.

4. Mr. Coon asserts, that the Greek terms, *aion*, *aionios*, mean endless duration. These are two forms of one word. *Aion* is a noun, and *ios* added to it, forms the adjective. This word occurs in these two forms three times in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of Matthew. In the twenty-fourth chapter, the disciples inquired of Jesus, "What shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the *end of the world?*" Now, *world* here is from *aion*, the same word rendered everlasting and eternal in the text. There was then to be an *end* to *aion*. Mr. Coon says, this word means *duration without end*, and in the same speech cites the same word to prove that it (*aion*) is to *end!* One passage explains the other. In one place Jesus speaks of *aionios* punishment, without stating whether he means endless or limited time; in the other place the apostles inquire concerning the *end* of the *aion*, and Jesus in answering their question, tells them, it *shall end*, "but," adds, "the *end* is not yet." Many things would transpire before that event would occur. "He that endureth to the *end* shall be saved . . . .And

the gospel of this kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness to all nations; and then shall the *end* come . . . . Verily, verily, I say unto you, *this generation* shall not pass, *till all these things be fulfilled.* Matt. xxiv. 6, 13, 14, 34. We have, then, the word of Jesus for it, that *aion*, and consequently *aionios*, everlasting punishment, shall end. I will give the true definition of *aion*, according to learned men — all believers in endless woe:

SCHLEUSNER.— "Any space of time, whether longer or shorter, past, present, or future, to be determined by the persons or things spoken of, and the scope of the subject — the life or age of man; any space in which we measure human life, from birth to death."

DONNEGAN.— "*Aion*, time; a space of time; lifetime and life; the ordinary period of man's life; the age of man: man's estate; a long period of time; eternity. *Aionios*, of long duration; eternal, lasting, permanent."

SCHREVELIUS.— "*Aion*, an age, a long period of time; indefinite duration; time, whether longer or shorter, past, present or future; life, the life of man. *Aionios*, of long duration, lasting, sometimes everlasting, sometimes lasting through life."

This is the definition learned men give the word. I will now show that the Bible attaches the same meaning to it.

1st. *Everlasting*. "And I will give unto thee and thy seed, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession." Gen. xvii. 8.

"And I will make of thee a multitude of people, and I will give this land (Canaan) to thy seed after thee, for an everlasting possession. Gen. xlviii. 4.

Its possession was not to be endless for it ceased long ago. I will read still more: "Unto the utmost bounds

of the everlasting hills"—'The everlasting mountains were scattered." Hab. iii. 6. The gentleman believes that the everlasting hills and mountains will all be destroyed when the world comes to an end!

"For their annointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood." Exod. xl. 15. "And he (Phinehas) shall have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant, for an everlasting priesthood." Num. xxv. 13. "And this shall be an everlasting statute unto you to make an atonement for the children of Israel once every year." Lev. xvi. 34. Though the priesthood was called everlasting it was not endless for it was abolished by Jesus. Why then, may not everlasting punishment be abolished? Such is a sample of the Bible use of this word.

2d. *Forever.* "He (Solomon) shall build me an house, and I will establish it forever." 1 Chron. xvii. 12. This house though established forever, was long since torn down and destroyed! "For the land which thou seest, to thee (Abram) will I give it. And to thy seed forever." Gen. xiii. 15. "You will keep it (the passover) a feast by an ordinance forever." Exod. xii. 14. Was the observance of the passover to be of endless duration? "They shall be your bondsmen forever." Lev. xxv. 46. Were they to be bondsmen throughout duration? "I went to the bottom of the mountains; the earth with her bars was about me forever"—that is, three days! Jonah ii. 6. "The righteous shall inherit the land, and dwell therein forever." Ps. xxxvii. 29. Are the righteous to dwell in a land endlessly? "And his master shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him forever,"—that is, as long as he lives. Exod. xxi. 6. "And they shall dwell in the land that I have given my servant Jacob, wherein your fathers have dwelt, and they

shall dwell therein, forever; and my servant David shall be their prince forever." Ezek. xxvii. 25. This needs no comment. But Judah shall dwell forever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation." — "For I have told him that I will judge his house forever, for the iniquity which he knoweth." Will the Almighty be endlessly judging the house of Eli? And if judging forever does not mean endless judgment, why should punishing forever mean endless punishment? Paul, writing to Philemon, says of Onesimus, — "For perhaps he departed for a season, that thou shouldst receive him forever" — not endlessly surely!

This noted passage, then, affords no evidence that punishment will be inflicted duration without end. Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great moralist and writer of the last century, speaking of this passage and others of like character, says: "They may admit of a mitigated interpretation."

The discussion continued four days. I delivered a discourse on Sunday morning following, but did not refer to the debate, and at the close organized a church. Mr. Coon preached in the afternoon, and the discussion was his *text.* He misrepresented me, the good faith, and poured volleys of abuse on all who did not subscribe to his fire and brimstone creed. I replied in the evening, and handled Calvinism without gloves, but he kept out of the way.

CHAPTER IX.

When in Dayton to fill an appointment, I heard J. O'Kane preach an excellent sermon — it was all Universalism. His subjects were the Mosaic and Christian covenants. Moses was the head of the first, Christ the head of the second covenant; the blessings of the first were *temporal*, designed only for the *Jews*; the blessings of the second were *spiritual*, including the *forgiveness of sins* and *life everlasting*, and designed for *all nations*. The whole Jewish nation was blessed temporally, all nations, families and kindred would be blessed spiritually. He dwelt long and emphatically on these points — proved and illustrated them in a very satisfactory manner. When he was through I asked the privilege of propounding a few questions:

O'K. "Ask as many questions as you please, and I shall be sure to answer them.

M. "I understood you to say, that the blessings of the Christian covenant are for all mankind, and that all nations, families, and kindreds of the earth would surely partake of those blessings. Did I understand you correctly?"

O'K. "Yes, sir."

M. "I also understood you, that the blessings of said covenant are spiritual — the forgiveness of sin and life everlasting. Did I understand you correctly?"

O'K. "You did."

M. "Once more. Do you believe that all nations,

families and kindred will be blessed by having their sins forgiven, and with life everlasting?"

O'K. "Suppose I don't."

M. "But why equivocate? You just said you did believe this."

O'K. "You don't know what I said," and out of the house he went.

Mr. O'Kane was in a pretty tight place, for he was well known to be a staunch advocate of eternal woe. Why he delivered such a discourse was best known to himself.

Subsequently he replied to a discourse I delivered in Crawfordsville from these words: "Marvel not at this; for the hour is coming in the which all that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and they shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." John v. 28, 29. There are, I remarked, three distinct resurrections spoken of in the Bible — political, moral, and an immortal resurrection. When the Bible speaks of a resurrection, we must learn from the context which is intended.

In Ezekiel, thirty-seventh chapter, the prophet is writing of the return of the Jews to Palestine from Babylon, after seventy years of servitude. The chapter is headed — "The resurrection of dry bones." I will read the whole passage: "The hand of the Lord was upon me, and carried me out in the spirit of the Lord, and set me down in the *valley which was full of bones*, and caused me to pass by them round about; and, behold, there were very many in the open valley; and, lo, they were very dry. And he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord God, thou know-

est. Again he said unto me, Prophesy upon these bones and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live; and I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live; and ye shall know that I am the Lord. So I prophesied as I was commanded; and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone. And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above; but there was no breath in them. Then said he unto me, Prophesy unto the wind, prophesy, Son of man, and say unto the wind, Thus saith the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live. So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army." Ezek. xxxvii. 1-10. Now mark the explanations: "Then he said unto me, Son of man, *these bones are the whole house of Israel;* behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost; we are cut off for our parts. Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, O my people, I will open your *graves*, and bring you into the *land of Israel.* And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your *graves*, O my people, and have brought you up out of your *graves.* And I shall put my spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your *own land;* then shall ye know that I, the Lord have spoken it, and performed it, saith the Lord." Ezek. xxxvii. 11-14. This was a political resurrection, including the moral —

the return of "the whole house of Israel" to "the land of Israel from Babylon." When in Babylon, they were in their *graves*, their *hope was lost*, but they were to come up out of the graves, and be restored to their beloved country.

The same events are also predicted in Daniel xii. 2. "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." The context shows that this was to take place within a few years. 1. The previous verse reads thus: "And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book." Daniel xii. 1. This prince Michael was a ruler in Persia while the Jews were in Babylon, and is spoken of in two other places in Daniel. "But the prince of the kingdom of Persia, withstood me one and twenty days; but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me; and I remained there with the kings of Persia. But I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth; and there is none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince." Dan x. 13, 21. It is clear from these quotations, that Michael was a prince of Persia, and that he was living when the Jews were in Babylon. Mark also, that this resurrection was to occur in Michael's lifetime, when Michael "would stand up," hence it must have taken place long ago. 2. The question was asked, (verse 6.) "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?" and the answer was, "It shall be for a time, times and a half a time," (verse 7.)

In verse 12, the period intended by these "times" is said to be one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days, making a little more than four years. "Time," singular, means one year, "times," plural, three years, "half a time," six months. The resurrection, then, referred to, was to take place about four years from the time the prophet saw the vision — another evidence that this resurrection was realized in the return of the Jews to Palestine from the land of their captivity. 3. Daniel was to be an eye-witness of this event. "Go thy way," said the angel to him, "till the end be; for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of these days," (verse 13.) It, then, seems certain, this resurrection was to take place within a few years after Daniel's vision. Two men, at least, then living were to witness the event — Michael, a prince of Persia, and Daniel, a prophet of the Lord; and to behold it they had to live only four years longer. The nation was raised from its grave, from the dust of the earth, and those who had been loyal through the dark night of bondage, returned to the land of promise with glory and honor; but those who had been traitors during the times that tried men's souls, returned with shame and contempt.

The Bible also reveals an immortal resurrection. Says Jesus, who brought life and immortality to light, "In the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven. . . . God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all — the dead — live unto him." Matt. xxii. 30, 32. The Apostle Paul dwells long, earnestly, and eloquently on this glorious resurrection. "As in Adam," says he, "all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. . . . It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is

sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body." "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." 1 Cor. xv. 22, 43, 44, 53–57.

The context and phraseology of these passages indicate that the immortal resurrection is the subject of discourse, and that all mankind are the subjects of it. It is not a resurrection from the grave, or dust of the earth, for the immortal spirit which now tabernacles in the flesh, never dies, except morally, never descends to the grave or dust, except figuratively, but as the wise man says, "Dust shall return to the earth as it was; and the *spirit* shall return unto God that gave it." Eccles. xii. 7. The body only, dies; it only returns to the dust — the spirit never; it returns to God.

The passage (John v.) under review must refer to some other kind of a resurrection, for it speaks of coming up out of graves, and moreover the connection makes it certain that a *moral* resurrection is intended. Immediately preceding the text, Jesus says, "As the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them; even so the Son quickeneth whom he will." Here is a comparison between what God was doing, and what Christ was doing. God was raising the dead from mortality to im-

mortality, and Jesus was raising the morally dead and quickening them by his spirit. He continues to speak of the moral resurrection he was then effecting: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, *hath* everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life." Those whom Christ had quickened by the truth were in possession of "everlasting life," had actually "passed from death to life" — of course, no other than a moral resurrection is intended. He continues: "Verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and NOW IS, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live." Sinners, the morally dead, were then hearing his voice and coming forth to life. This is NOW going on, said Jesus. Then he adds: "Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice and they shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." During Christ's ministry the gospel was proclaimed only to the Jews, and they only were blessed by its quickening power; but soon the gospel was to be preached to "all nations," "to every creature." Said Jesus to the disciples, just before he returned to God, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved but he that believeth not shall be damned." Mark xvi. 15, 16. When the disciples went into the world in obedience to their master, they found mankind dead in trespasses and sins, buried in the graves of moral degradation, even in the dust of the earth. They preached the gospel to the dead nations — some who heard it came forth to

life, to salvation, entered the kingdom of God, which is righteousness, joy and peace in the holy spirit. Others who heard it, came forth to condemnation, and this is explained thus: "He that believeth not shall be damned;" "He that doubteth is damned;" "HAVING damnation because they cast off their first faith;" "He that believeth not is condemned ALREADY." Similar results have followed the proclamation of the truth in all ages and climes. Let the truth be proclaimed fully and plainly in an ignorant and vicious community, and some with joy receive it, and partake of its blessedness; others rise up in opposition to it, condemn it, and wax worse and worse.

This was the substance of the discourse. Mr. O'Kane replied, but have room for only one of his criticisms.

"The speaker said, that in the immortal resurrection, the dead are not said to be raised from the *graves*, hence in John v. 28, 29, Christ does not speak of such a resurrection, for he there tells us, that the dead shall be raised from the graves. Now, it happens, that in the very chapter the gentleman cited as teaching the immortal resurrection, the apostle does say that the dead will be raised from the *grave*. 'So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O *grave*, where is thy victory?' Now which is correct, Mr. Manford or the apostle Paul, for they flatly contradict each other."

To which I replied: The word *graves* in John v. 28, is from *muemeia*, which signifies the receptacle of dead bodies, but the word *grave* in Corinthians, is from *hades*, which means not the grave, but the state of the dead.

The meaning of the two terms is very different. One signifies the *place* where dead bodies are deposited, the other, the state of the dead. Now, the body is not buried in *hades*, but in *muemeia*; and at the immortal resurrection the dead come not from *muemeia*, but from *hades*, the state of death. My remark, then, was strictly correct, that at the immortal resurrection nothing is said about the dead being raised from the grave, *muemeia*. The state of the dead is designated by *hades*, and that state or condition may continue but a moment. The term has no reference to time or place, but merely to death. When a person dies, his condition is represented by *hades*, and when the spirit returns to God, it is delivered from *hades*, meaning the state of death. When the spirit ascends to God, it can exclaim, "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory." "Victory, victory, victory!" the redeemed exclaim, as they burst the shackles of death, and join the immortal band in the land of the blessed.

Delivered two discourses in West Lebanon, and spent most of one day in conversation with Mr. Cooper, a Methodist minister. Said Mr. Cooper, "You say, forever and everlasting in the Bible signify limited duration. The Bible speaks of the 'everlasting God,' and the 'everlasting life' of the saints. Now, according to your definition of these words, God will exist only for a limited period, and the redeemed in heaven will exist only for a limited period. Your definition dethrones God, and blots out heaven."

M. "Not so fast, my friend. True, the primary meaning of the words is duration, indefinite duration; but how long must be determined by the subject of discourse.

When the Bible speaks of the 'everlasting hills,' 'everlasting priesthood of Aaron,' 'the everlasting possession' of Judea by the Jews, 'the everlasting doors' of the temple, 'the servant serving his master forever,' you readily admit those words in those places mean limited time. You admit this, because the subjects of discourse are limited in duration. But when those words are applied to God, and man's immortal inheritance, they signify duration without end, because of the subjects to which they are applied. But why should everlasting and forever, when applied to punishment, bear the meaning they do when related to God and immortal life, rather than the signification they bear when applied to the priesthood, the hills, or the temple?"

C. "It is admitted, when those words are applied to things of earth they signify limited time, but when the Bible speaks of man being punished forever, and suffering everlasting punishment in the *immortal world*, they must mean the same they do when speaking of the everlasting blessedness of the saints in heaven, and joys forevermore at God's right hand. Take, for instance, the words of Christ, 'These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.' Now this life and this punishment pertain to the immortal world, and one will continue as long as the other."

M. "But it is by no means certain, Jesus refers to heaven or hell beyond the grave. There is not a word about heaven or hell; not a word concerning death, the resurrection or the immortal world, in the discourse of which this passage is a part. The connection clearly shows, Christ had reference to the blessedness of the subjects of the gospel kingdom, and the wretchedness of those out of that kingdom. Note his words: '*Come ye*

blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' The life spoken of in your text is the life, the blessedness, of this kingdom; and the New Testament certainly teaches, that the kingdom is established in this world. John commenced his ministry, saying, 'Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand.' Jesus began his work, repeating John's words, 'Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand.' Soon after this, Jesus said, 'If I cast out devils by the spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you.' Again, 'The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it.' Near the close of our Lord's ministry the Pharisees asked, when the kingdom which he and John sometime before said was at hand, would come. Now, observe his reply: 'Neither shall ye say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold the kingdom of God is within you,' or about, or among you, as some, and very correctly, translate the passage. An apostle defines this kingdom thus: 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, joy and peace in the holy spirit.' These citations tell us plainly, distinctly, where and what this kingdom is. It is the kingdom of truth and righteousness, Jesus built up in this world eighteen hundred years ago. It is called the kingdom of God because its principles are all divine; because the Son of God is its king, and to distinguish it from the political kingdoms of earth. In this world there are three kingdoms, each having its corresponding life: 1st, The kingdom of nature, with its physical life; 2d, The civil kingdom, with its political, or civil life; 3d, The kingdom of God, with its spiritual life. You perceive, then, that in the passage you cite, Jesus refers not to heaven or hell be-

yond the grave, but to the blessedness of that kingdom he labored to build up in this world. The New Testament when speaking of the immortal world, and heavenly blessedness, employs altogether different terms. 'In the resurrection', says Jesus, 'they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven;' and the apostle Peter calls immortality 'An inheritance, undefiled, and fadeth not away;' and the apostle Paul says, 'This mortal shall put on immortality, and as we bear the image of the earthly we shall also bear the image of the heavenly."

C. "But, sin, according to the Bible, will continue as long as virtue, misery as long as happiness, death as long as life, and therefore forever and everlasting when applied to one class must mean as long as when applied to the other class."

M. "But my friend, are you sure, that sin, error, misery, and death, will continue as long as virtue, truth, happiness, and life? I take it, nothing is immortal save what harmonizes with the divine character. For a wise purpose, evil has a temporary existence. It answers some useful end in the economy of the universe; but when that end shall be gained, it will disappear. The earthquake rends the earth, the lightnings flash, the storm howls, for useful purposes; and those attained, they cease; and their temporary existence, as they result in immense good, is reconcilable with infinite goodness. But an everlasting earthquake from pole to pole, eternal lightning, blowing and raining, would conflict with infinite wisdom and goodness. So, moral storms and earthquakes answer useful purposes, then cease. But the existence of sin and wrong eternally would be more damaging to the wisdom and goodness of God,

than everlasting temporal evils, as the former would blast the soul, while the latter only the body. As earthquakes are less frequent than formerly, and now seldom do much harm, and will probably continue to diminish, and finally cease to rend the earth, so, moral evil is slowly losing ground, and will doubtless continue to do so till righteousness shall finally cover the earth as the waters cover the deep. By what beautiful analogies we are taught, that all sin and wrong will end. 'The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.' Isa. xi. 6-9. 'For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts. For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater: so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it. For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace; the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall

clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle tree; and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.' Isa. lv. 8-13. These are elegant passages, perfect word-painting, and you see they teach the end of all wrong, and the universal reign of truth and righteousness."

About this time I made a long journey southward, down the Wabash river to Terre Haute, thence to Indianapolis, Richmond, Madison, and the Green River region, Kentucky. Distance to and from, nine hundred miles; absent three months, and delivered seventy-three discourses. The whole journey was performed by my favorite mode of locomotion — on horseback. Spoke in many places where the Faith had not before been publicly defended, and, of course, encountered opposition. In Portland, a preacher in the midst of my discourse said, "That is a lie!" and left in great rage. "Stop!" said I, "my friend, and sustain, if you can, your charge. I will yield the floor." "I will have nothing to do with you; and I warn you to flee from the wrath to come." In Boston, near Richmond, an old lady called aloud for eggs with which to shower me. But none were furnished. In Perrysville, an old toper went staggering out of the house, muttering, "It's good to live by, but it's not good to die by." In Shelbyville, a man could see no reason for living a Christian life if Universalism is true.

M. "My friend, will you answer a few questions? If you were sure of heaven would you put out your eyes? run hot lead into your ears?"

Stranger. "No."

M. "If sure of being saved, would you not eat when hungry, drink when thirsty?"

S. "Yes."

M. "If certain of going to heaven, would you not love your wife, children, father, mother, brother,and sister?"

S. "Yes."

M. "If you expected heaven when you die, when sick would you not want to recover?"

S. "Yes."

M. "If sure of happiness next year, would you not want to be happy this year?"

S. "Yes."

M. "If certain of good health in old age, would you not like good health now?"

S. "Yes."

M. "If sure of being a Christian next year, would you not desire to be one this year?"

S. "Yes."

M. "My friend, you have answered your own question as I would, and as any one, save a fool, would. If eternal life is to be our portion in the other world, we should lay hold on it in *this world.* If a heavenly feast awaits us on the other side of the River, why starve on *this side*? But this, I suppose, puzzles you; you think the Christian is no better off in this world than the sinner; that he treads a thorny path, and is crushed by a heavy yoke, hence the question, 'Why live a Christian life, if after all, I am sure of heaven?' The truth is, the good man, and only the good man, is truly blessed in this world. He enjoys heaven *now* in anticipation of one beyond the grave. This blissful hope transforms his character into the heavenly image. But there is another reason why we should live Christians if heaven is sure. Godliness hath the promise of the life that now

is, and of that which is to come. He who lives a godly life is not only well paid for it in this world, but he enters the other world with *capabilities* for happiness far exceeding that man who spends this life in sin and folly. This is an important consideration. There are, then, at least, two reasons why we should be Christians in this world if God has promised universal redemption. Ist. It will make us happier here; 2d. It will make us happier hereafter."

In Breckenridge, Ky., bigotry would not allow me to deliver my message. One preacher took special pains to have every door closed against me; but sin only triumphed for a season; for when I returned a house was obtained, and I delivered a long sermon on the sin of bigotry. Showed it was the same thing the world over — in all ages and climes, in Christian and heathen lands; that it was cruel as a hyena, bloody as a wolf, and remorseless as a tiger; that it had drenched the earth with gore, covered its hills, vales, and plains with the slain of human kind; that it had murdered Jesus, and God's prophets and apostles, and was still at its wicked work; and the only reason why bigots are not now crucifying, beheading, hanging, quartering and burning the saints of the Lord is, the laws of the land will not let them indulge in such amusements; but they are doing all they *dare* do — stabbing character, suppressing free thought, and persecuting the saints of God. I considerably extended my acquaintance by this journey, and obtained many subscribers for *The Teacher*.

Soon after returning, had a debate with Mr. Dickerson, of Park county, Ind. He was a Scotch Presbyterian — a Calvinist, and the bluest of the blue. He contended stoutly that all God wills to save, and Christ

died for, will be saved; but said he, God wills to save only the elect, and Christ died only for the elect, and he supposed they comprise about one tenth of mankind. In one of my speeches, I remarked:

Mr. Dickerson comes out plainly, boldly, independently, in favor of old-fashioned Calvinism — one for heaven, nine for hell, all for God's glory. He has no faith in the modern improvements of Calvinism, but takes it as it flowed from the pen of its author, John Calvin. He tells us, without any circumlocution, that God *wills*, *purposes* the salvation of only *part* of mankind. If he is correct, the Bible needs revising, for it certainly teaches it to be the will and purpose of God to save the world. An apostle expressly says, "God will have *all men* to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth." 1 Tim. ii. 4. "Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure, which he hath purposed in himself; that in the dispensation of the fullness of times he might gather together in one *all things* in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are of earth; even in him." Eph. i. 9, 10. In these passages the purpose of God in the creation of man is clearly stated. It is his will, pleasure, and purpose to save *all*, to bless *all* in Christ. Does *all* mean *part*? Is the Bible a riddle? How a man, standing in the midst of God's works, and with the Bible in his hand, can for a moment entertain the thought, that the Author of all this beauty and grandeur wills and purposes the eternal wretchedness of nine-tenths of mankind, is a problem of intellectual, moral and spiritual blindness I cannot solve. Before I can subscribe to that savage creed, my reason must be destroyed, my conscience deadened, my eyes put out, my ears stopped, and my heart become as hard as ada-

mant. The gentleman says, this is evidence of my carnal mindedness; and if I saw with spiritual eyes — he must mean Calvin's eyes, the eyes that beheld Michael Servetus burning on a pile of green wood — I would be charmed with the beauties of Calvinism.

2. It was the mission of Jesus to do the will and purpose of God, and I have proved it to be God's will and purpose to save the world — not one here and there — but the world. Hence, the joyous language of the angel when he announced the Redeemer's birth: "Fear not: for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to *all people*. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ the Lord. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." Luke ii. 10, 11, 13, 14. Does all this comport with the theory that it was the mission of Jesus to bless only *one tenth* of mankind? John, directing attention to Jesus, said, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of *the world*." John i. 29. Said Jesus, concerning his mission, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw *all men* to me." John xii. 32. The apostles understood it to be the mission of Jesus to save the world — not one-tenth of it. "We have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son to be the Savior of *the world*." 1 John iv. 14. "He gave himself a ransom for *all*, to be testified in due time." 1 Tim. ii. 6. "And he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of *the whole world*." 1 John ii. 2. "And, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile *all things* unto himself; by him, I say, whether they be things in earth, or things in

heaven." Col. i. 20. "God was in Christ, reconciling *the world* unto himself." 2 Cor v. 19. But why cite more testimony? I could fill my hour with quotations from the New Testament, showing that Christ's mission is not a partial mission, but that it embraces all the sons and daughters of earth. He was born the Savior of the world; and he lived, died, arose, ascended, and still is, the Savior of the world. All that corresponds with his spirit, his labors, his precepts, his principles and his prayers. Calvinism crucifies the true Christ, and sets up an impostor, an anti-christ, in his stead. It also denies the true God, and substitutes a monster.

This speech kindled the ire of Mr. Dickerson. He denounced me in unmeasured terms, and marshalled all his strength in defense of Calvinism. He was familiar with its strongest arguments, and paraded them to the best advantage. He said, Universalism is Arminianism gone to seed, and denounced both systems with much bitterness. This led me to remark — I believe in all the truth there is in Arminianism and Calvinism, and there is some truth in both systems. Calvinism says, all God wills to save will surely be saved — not one lost. Very good; I can say, amen to that. Arminianism says, God wills the salvation of *all*. Very good; I can say amen to that. Here is a sylogism for him to digest:

1. Arminianism — It is God's will, that all men shall be saved.

2. Calvinism — God's will shall be done.

3. Conclusion (which is Universalism) — All will be saved.

I cast aside the dross of Calvinism and Arminianism, and retain the pure gold of both systems.

He pitched into my syllogism rough shod, and in reply, I gave him several from the Bible.

1. It is the will of God that all men shall be saved. Proof: "Who will have all men to be saved." 1 Tim. ii. 4.

2. God's will is to be done. Proof: "He doeth according to his will in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, what doest thou?" Dan. iv. 35. "He doeth all things after the council of his own will." Eph. i. 11.

3. Conclusion — All will be saved.

1. God purposes the salvation of all men. Proof: Eph. i. 9, 10, above quoted.

2. God's purpose will be effected. Proof: "As I have purposed so shall it stand — for the Lord hath purposed, and who shall disannul it?" Isa. xiv. 24, 27. "I have spoken it, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed it, I will also do it." Isa. xlvi. 11.

3. Conclusion — All will be saved.

1. All were given to Christ. Proof: "Thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he may give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him." John xvii. 2.

2. All shall be saved who were given to Christ. Proof: "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me, and he that cometh to me I will in no wise cast away." John vi. 37.

3. Conclusion — All will be blessed with eternal life.

About this time, I held an oral discussion in Chambersburg, Fountain county, with a Baptist minister — have forgotten his name. I arrived in due time, but my opponent not being on hand, another minister took his

place, and the discussion proceeded. He made one speech, and while I was replying, the expected man made his appearance. When I was through, he proposed, that each make one speech, and then close the debate; but I insisted that we should occupy two days according to agreement. He was rather a weak brother, but knew the book of Revelation from A to izzard, and all the other mysterious portions of the Bible. He could tell the exact depth of the "bottomless pit," how large was the "red dragon," how big was his "head," "horns," and "crown;" could give the exact length of his "tail," that cast to earth the "third part of the stars of heaven." He was deeply versed in all that kind of lore, but drank shallow draughts of useful knowledge or common sense. But large numbers attended the discussion, held in a beautiful grove, which gave me an excellent opportunity to talk to the people.

CHAPTER X.

In 1843 I moved from Lafayette to Terre Haute, ninety miles down the Wabash river, as I deemed that a better location for publishing *The Teacher*. The country north and west of Lafayette, in those days, was thinly settled; but in the southern portion of the state, there was a denser population, hence, a better field in which to circulate the journal. I still continued my monthly round on both sides of the Wabash river, from Terre Haute to Lafayette, preaching in twenty different places. B. F. Foster was pastor of the Terre Haute church, and a meeting-house was being erected. But soon my services were so urgently demanded west and south, that I dropped some of the places up the river, to supply the wants of friends nearer home. Did so with much reluctance, there being no one to take my place.

At the earnest solicitation of Dr. Thompson of Fort Wayne, I visited that place, and delivered a series of discourses. These were the first sermons on the Restitution ever delivered in that town. An Episcopal clergyman proposed debating, and we accordingly spent two days in discussion. The assemblies were large, and, I trust, much good was effected. Dr. Thompson was a prominent citizen of Fort Wayne, and an intellectual and Christian man. Three years after, while a candidate for Congress, he died, universally lamented where he was known. While on that journey I spoke in Huntington,

Wabash, Peru, and several other places, where the Faith had never been preached.

Took a trip westward into Illinois. Lectured in Elbridge, Paris, Grand View, Brewetts Creek, Bloomfield, Oakland, Charleston, Shelbyville, Cold Springs, Marshall and Greenup. In not one of these places had a discourse been delivered in defense of the Great Salvation, and, of course, my preaching was a great curiosity. In Paris, a minister lifted up his warning voice, but would not let me into his house to reply. He wanted his people to hear his side only. I, however, made an *expose* of his sermon in the Court-house, to a large assembly, and obtained a large number of subscribers for *The Teacher*. In Oakland, I found some excellent friends, and subsequently preached for them monthly for two years. In Charleston, the meetings stirred up sectarianism to its depths, and a preacher by the name of Tichner dared me to debate with him. Not being badly frightened by his bluster, I agreed to discuss with him four days. The first proposition—"Immortal blessedness is conditional"—was his affirmative.

In my first speech in the morning, I showed the result of the position, that immortal blessedness is conditional in the sense Mr. Tichner intended. If he is correct, but a small portion of mankind will be thus blessed. 1. All children, dying in childhood, are lost, as they comply, in this world, with no conditions. 2. Idiots neither believe nor obey the gospel in this world—they will then be lost. 3. All who lived and died before Christ's advent complied with no gospel condition, hence, all those countless millions are damned—forever damned. 4. Pagans, Jews, Mohammedans, since Christ's day, have all gone down to their graves, without faith in Christ or the gos-

pel, hence, are all in hell. My friend is a Disciple, and will not admit any comply with gospel conditions, who are not immersed in water — down, then, to perdition, go Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, yea, all who are not immersed. If he is correct, only one here and there will be saved, while the mass of mankind, nearly all, will be doomed, for one of his propositions affirms the endless punishment of the unsaved. The gentleman may not believe all this — I cannot say how that is — but I am dealing with his proposition, and it involves the ruin of nearly all mankind. I once heard him deliver a sermon on the conditions of everlasting life, and he did not intimate that one could be saved without immersion. His creed unchurches all but his little sect, and sends all to hell but his party.

His next speech consumed only half of his allotted time, and he said not a word concerning what I had shown to be the result of his proposition. In my reply, I called attention to my former speech, and to the fact that no attempt had been made to refute it, and remarked, that the gentleman must either show my deductions are false, or abandon his proposition. He must do one or the other. He dared me to debate with him, boasted that he would annihilate my faith the first day before noon, and many of his friends are here to see him do it. We adjourned till two o'clock. Met according to adjournment. Mr. Tichner and his friends were in trouble. They saw I had their man in my grasp, and meant to hold him. I looked on, but said nothing. The preacher looked blue; did not know which way to turn. He and his brethren looked as if they were at the funeral of their dearest friend. I pitied them, and finally proposed that we drop the first proposition, which we were to debate two days, and take up

the second proposition — "Will all mankind enjoy immortal blessedness?" He readily consented, and the discussion then went on. Mr. Tichner and his friends were mortified and disappointed. He soon ceased preaching, went to California, and made shipwreck of his faith and character.

Have preached in Charleston occasionally these many years, and always have a good hearing. Our people have a church now, and a good meeting-house. I have some esteemed friends in that pleasant town, and always feel at home when with them.

Lectured in Greenup; and while there, a preacher prayed the Lord, either to convert the Universalists, or send them to hell, and he did not seem to care which disposition was made of them. A Presbyterian minister in Grand View, delivered a labored sermon against "Infidelity in all its forms," and, of course, "the grace of God which bringeth salvation to all men," was one of its worst "forms." "That phase of infidelity," said he, "is the best baited of the whole batch. Read not their books, their papers, their *Teacher*, hear not their preachers, talk not on that subject with any of the believers in that damnable system. Pray for them, but don't talk with them. It is a heresy hot from hell, and have nothing to do with it." A Methodist divine in Shelbyville, gave notice that he would, the Lord permitting, preach a sermon against Universalism, the next Sunday. But notwithstanding this opposition, I thanked God and took courage. Many rejoiced in the testimony they heard, and resolved their lives should correspond with the purity of their new faith.

Being in Green Castle, Ind., I heard a discourse by James Mathes, concerning the conditions of salvation.

and at its close, delivered, at his request, a short sermon. Without controverting any of his positions, I attempted to show, that all mankind would finally comply with the gospel conditions of salvation. When I got through, he proposed a debate on the subject of my discourse. In due time we met in Green Castle, and devoted two days to the investigation of said subject. Mr. Mathes was, and still is, a prominent man in his denomination. For many years he has published the *Christian Record*, a monthly journal. In the discussion, he said, "There are three conditions of salvation: 1st, Faith; 2d, Baptism; 3d, Repentance. He, and he only, who complies with these conditions, is entitled to salvation."

I answered: If the gentleman is correct, but a small squad of mankind will be saved, for he earnestly denies, that any will be allowed to comply with one of the conditions named, in the other world. We must believe, repent, be immersed in this world, or be lost forever; no opportunity for salvation will be granted beyond the grave; God's mercy is confined to this life, but his vengeance will extend through eternity; his mercy is only the evanescent spark of a flint, but his wrath will burn forever; this life is only the infancy of our existence, but his creed makes it the hinge on which our destiny turns; now, man is a moral agent, but death will destroy that agency, and he will be compelled to lie down in sin and darkness through the eternal ages; death bounds God's mercy—beyond it, the righteous will need no mercy, and the wicked will be allowed none. I cannot subscribe to such an unreasonable, unphilosophical, malignant and cruel creed. I believe in conditions of salvation, and that not one of us will ever be denied the ability, the opportunity, of complying with them. The

conditions, in sum and substance, are, knowledge of the truth, and love to God, and love to man; and no one can be saved in this world or in the next world without that knowledge and that love. That is the straight and narrow way; there is no other way to be saved, and there is no other salvation, in time or eternity. True, all do not possess that knowledge, or exercise that love in this world, but as the light and heat of the sun are not confined to this world, but extend to all the worlds in the solar system, so God's mercy is not exhausted on earth, but extends through all time, and to all worlds.

It is certainly God's will that all shall be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. (1 Tim. ii. 4.) The gentleman, though, denies that in toto. True, he admits it is God's will that you, and I, and all who now live on earth, shall be saved, but he contends that all the sons of error and sin, as soon as they leave this world, are deprived of all power, of all opportunity, to reform their lives, and must lie down in sin and error eternally. But mark the text, "God will have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth." It is God's will now that all shall be saved. God is unchangeable; he is the same yesterday, to-day and forever. Men may change their will, their purpose, but his will, his purpose, is the same through all time, through all eternity. It was God's will six thousand years ago, that all should be saved; it is God's will now that all should be saved; it will be God's will six thousand years hence, yea, through the eternal ages, that all men shall be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. As it is God's will now that all shall be saved, all are now capable of salvation, none are reprobated, none are cast away; and as it always will be God's will that all shall be saved, all ever will be

capable of salvation, none will be reprobated, none cast away. What is true of God's nature, character, and will now, ever will be true of God's nature, character and will, hence, the golden gates of salvation ever will be open to mankind. We read that the heavenly city has gates all around it, on the east, west, north and south, and that they are never shut by day or by night.

I know it is a common notion, and Mr. Mathes preaches it, that the ignorant and vicious will have no opportunity to become wiser or better in the other world; that, as they breathe their last breath, and heave their last sigh, they will be *compelled* to remain forever. And to prove this, I have heard repeated these and other home-made texts: "As the tree falls so it shall lie;" "As death leaves us, so judgment finds us:" "If you die in your sins, where I go ye cannot come." I need not inform you, these are spurious texts. Is it affirmed, that the Bible says, "There is no repentance in the grave?" Nothing of the kind is in the Good Book. And even if it were there it would not contradict my position. What is in the grave? Nothing but the body, and that cannot repent, in the grave or out of it, dead or alive. Where is the spirit when the body is mouldering in the grave? The wise man tells us: "Dust returns to dust as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it." That is the destiny of *all*. The body is of earth, the spirit from God, and when the copartnership between the body and the spirit are dissolved, the body descends, and the spirit ascends — the one to its mother-earth, the other to its Father-God. Man is a spirit; Christ and the apostles talked to spirits; I am addressing spirits; all revelation — its precepts and promises — are addressed to spirits; and when the apostle said, "God will have all

men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth," he spoke of all spirits, whether in this world or in the eternal world, whether in the body, or in the house not made with hands. I repeat, wherever a spirit exists *unsaved*, it is God's will he shall be saved, and God will ever work in all, to will and to do his pleasure.

Mr. Mathes admits it to be God's will that sinners, while in this world, shall be saved, but contends it is his will that sinners in the next world shall *not* be saved. Now, why this difference? Why is it God's will that I shall *now* be saved, also his will that I shall not be saved beyond the grave, if I should there need salvation? Is not reformation of character a good thing any where and every where? I take it, that God's government is the same in all worlds, and at all times. It is perfect, and therefore uniform and unchangeable. He now requires all, and ever will require all, to learn the truth, and walk in the ways of life, hence, never will *compel* a soul to lie down in sin, darkness and death, one moment, in time or eternity.

When the third volume of *The Teacher* commenced, it was changed to a quarto form, and issued semi-monthly, instead of monthly, and James Burt and J. H. Jordan, became associate editors. Mr. Burt was recently from the East, where he had preached several years. He was a good writer, and a worthy man. Was connected with the paper one year, when his name, at his request, was dropped, and he ceased preaching and went into secular business. Mr. Jordan was not a minister, but a school teacher. He subsequently became a physician, and at the present time, is a citizen of Chicago.

I opened a new field about this time, in Southern Indiana. Lectured in Bowling Green. Oliver Crom-

well resided there — a descendant of England's great Protector. He was an aged man, and an ardent defender of the liberal faith. He said the Protector was his great-great grandfather.

A zealous Methodist class leader tried to reply to one of my discourses. "If your faith is correct, why all this labor? Why form churches, build meeting-houses, have ministers, or try to serve the Lord in any way?" I answered thus:

I infer from the gentleman's remarks, that he supposes the fear of hell, and the hope of heaven, are the only inducements worth naming for observing the duties of life; and, according to the confession of sectarians generally, these are the moving causes of all their so called Christian efforts; hence, their first and last objection to Universalism is, it removes all inducements to live virtuously. This objection is in the mouth of nearly all, from the doctor of divinity to the most humble member; but it is a shameful and degrading objection. It means, that those who urge it, work only for pay; and pay they will have, or turn rebels. Piety with them is an insurance policy against the flames of hell; a commercial transaction; a ticket into heaven. Those who offer this objection in earnest stand on slippery places, are on the verge of destruction, and to all such Jesus would say, "thou hypocrite," and Paul, "thou fool." Universalism lays a better foundation, presents better motives. It makes a *reasonable* appeal to our hopes and fears, but its strong foundation is in *principle*. It teaches we should revere the truth and practice righteousness, because we love truth and righteousness; should love God for his goodness, and man for his divinity; be truthful because we love the truth, and deal justly

because we love justice. Character built on that foundation is permanent as the everlasting hills. The work is well done.

Lectured in Spencer, Gosport, Bloomington, Martinsville, Morgantown, Franklin, Columbus and Nashville. In these places the liberal faith had not before been preached; still, there were an elect few who cherished it amid all sorts of opposition. Faithful souls! They were true to their convictions, though standing alone, targets for bigots to shoot at. In Bloomington I lectured several times; a minister tried to point out my errors, as he termed the noblest and most glorious of truths. Mr. Labertew, a merchant, and a zealous friend, residing there, took much interest in the good cause. He subsequently built a meeting-house at his own expense, and still later, gave Smithson College one thousand dollars. Held a meeting in Gosport — the house full, and several hundred outside; though the rain poured down in torrents, they remained through the services. Here I subsequently had many conflicts with those of the partial faith. Near Nashville attended a Fourth-of-July celebration. When dinner was over, and the patriotic speeches made, I gave the people a sermon. Lectured in Martinsville in the Court-house; a clergyman replied, and arrangements were made for a debate with Mr. Scott, a Methodist presiding elder. It was to continue four days. He had recently debated with J. Mathes, and coming off victorious, all were sure he would make short work of me, and my faith. But both survived, and are yet alive. He knew but little of Universalism, and so did not get along as well as his friends expected. In fact, he got mad, and left the rostrum, declaring he would discuss no more with me. But the moderators

persuaded him to continue the allotted time. After he got through, another minister tried his hand at the work, but many thought he fared worse than his predecessor. Weighing about two hundred and fifty pounds, and fat as butter, he kept in good humor. Lectured in Columbus and Franklin, where I soon after had discussions. This was a laborious journey, for it was war, war, from the beginning to the end.

CHAPTER XI.

June, 1844, I commenced a journey into Northern Illinois. Preached in Newport, Ind., and became acquainted with several believers in the Restitution. Lectured on temperance in Perrysville. Related the following sad story of a family educated to the "temperate use" of liquor:

The husband and father was wealthy, educated, and in his days of vigor, had held important political and military stations. He was an officer in the last war with Great Britain; and after its termination, honorably occupied a seat in the legislative hall of his native state. He was what is called a "temperate drinker." His children were instructed by precept and example to be temperate drinkers. The decanters, ever displayed on the mahogany side-board, were always full of choice liquors, and all freely partook of the sparkling beverage. The two sons married into families equal to their own; and the daughter, an accomplished lady, wedded the man of her choice. The father had the satisfaction of having his loved ones settled around him, respected by the community, and blessed with a liberal share of the good things of this world. He was comforted with the reflection that his declining years would be blessed by virtuous children.

My informant, who had spent his childhood and youth

where this family lived, after long absence, returned to the home of his early years. He repaired to the residence of the venerable man, where he had spent many happy hours in by-gone days. Enquired for beloved names — for the sons and daughter, the associates of his early life. The aged father burst into tears; he wept aloud; he wrung his hands with anguish. The tale was all horror the old man related. The daughter had disgraced herself by intemperance, and was mouldering in a premature grave. The two brothers were ruined by rum-drinking. A short time previous, the wife of one of them, after enduring the brutal treatment of her husband for years, fled, while he was in a drunken fit, plunged into a pond to end her sorrows, and was drowned. The wife of the other had left him — would live no longer with the brute. One of the sons was at home, but rum had made him a cripple and an idiot. The mother had long since sunk into a welcome grave, overwhelmed with sorrow. The father was descending with grief to the grave. His expectations were blasted; his hopes were cut off.

The misfortunes of this family were the results of *temperate drinking*. The seed of sin and death was sown by the father, while the children were under his roof. Taste for intoxicating drinks was there acquired and cultivated, and when they left home, continued to cherish it, till by degrees it became the ruling passion. The parents and children reaped a fearful reward. What a damning crime for parents thus to vitiate the taste of their children! Let them take warning. They will as surely reap the reward of their evil doing, as there is a God in heaven. For so great a sin to go unpunished nature's laws must be reversed.

Delivered two sermons in Rainsville. Spoke of the

importance of living as becometh believers in the best religion ever entertained by men or angels. It is all truth and righteousness, and our character and life should be truthful and righteous. Better be an Orthodox Christian than a Universalist sinner. Might as well be without knowledge of the truth, as hold it in unrighteousness. The gospel blesses those only who *live* it; to such only it "is the power of God unto salvation." Had a meeting in Montgomery, Ill., and at the close a Baptist preacher sung a reply. It was decidedly funny. He bellowed so long and loud he had the colic and had to send for a doctor. Forded the Kankakee river where the city of Kankakee now stands; but there was no city then — nothing but wild prairie. The river was deeper than I expected, and there was imminent danger of horses, buggy, and all, being washed down stream. Some men on shore watched me with much interest, but could have rendered no assistance had I needed it, no boat being near. Lectured in Bourbonais Grove, a French village, and put up with the principal man of the settlement. He was a Catholic, but said he believed what I preached.

July 2d, in Wilmington, Ill., was married to Miss H. W. Bryant, by Rev. W. H. Dean, of Joliet. This lady is a native of New York, and for a year or two previous to this date, was one of the Principals of a seminary in Warrenville, Ill. Left Wilmington with my charge for Terre Haute. But the windows of heaven opened, and the fountains of the great deep were broken up. The summer of 1844 will long be remembered in the West, for its floods, tornadoes, thunder and lightning. The whole country was inundated, and traveling was dangerous business. We came near being swept away, crossing a rapid stream, the first day of our journey. Arriving at

the Kankakee, we found it past fording, and nothing but a small skiff in which to cross. The carriage was taken to pieces, carried over in parcels, and the horses swam the river. A few miles south, we encountered Beaver Creek — then a mighty river. Again, the buggy was ferried over by piece-meal, the horses swam at the side of the frail bark, I holding them by their heads. Every slough was a river, which we had to ford or swim. A few miles from Iroquois river, when far from a house, a terrible storm burst on our heads. There was no shelter, and for about one hour we were exposed to the peltings of a terrific storm. The wind blew a tornado, the thunder crashed fearfully, the lightning flashed sheets of fire, the rain and hail poured down in torrents, and for a climax, the trees came crashing to the ground, all around us. We finally reached a house on the bank of the river, and were right glad to have a roof between us and that wild elemental war. There we had to remain several days, it being impossible to proceed till the waters abated. But I was very uneasy, as I had arranged for a discussion in Oakland with E. Kingsbury, a Presbyterian minister of Danville, Ill., and had barely time to reach there; but that storm compelled me to disappoint my Oakland friend.

The bridge across the Iroquois being washed away, the carriage was again taken to pieces and ferried over, while the horses swam to the opposite shore. But one came near drowning, by getting entangled in a tree-top that had drifted down; he was finally rescued, and we were soon on the way to encounter more trouble. Reached the Wabash river bottom, opposite Montezuma, and found it all inundated — the water from one to three feet deep. When about half way from the bluff to the

river, in attempting to cross a low place, on a corduroy bridge, all under water, and not visible, the water being so dirty, we missed the middle of the corduroy, and over went carriage and horses, bag and baggage, trunks, bride and bridegroom, into the mud and water. The bride, a perfect hero, stood in the mud and water three feet deep, holding the frightened horses, while the bridegroom transferred the baggage from the buggy to the trunk of a fallen tree, which, happily, was not far distant. We finally got out of the slough, in a pretty bad plight, though, crossed the river to dry land, and the next day reached Terre Haute — thus ended our *bridal tour*.

Mr. Kingsbury, named above, gave notice he should deliver a discourse near Oakland, against the doctrine of the Restitution, and added, he was willing I should reply at the close, if I thought proper. I was in Covington, Ind., the day before he was to deliver said discourse, and being detained in crossing the Wabash till near sundown, I rode most of the night, and reached the appointed place a few minutes after he had dismissed his congregation. I rode seventy miles, on horse back, between four o'clock Thursday, and twelve o'clock Friday, without any refreshment, and with only about two hours' rest. The congregation were called together. Mr. Kingsbury furnished notes of his sermon, and I spoke two hours in reply. He rejoined, and I spoke another hour. We subsequently spent four days in discussion in Oakland. Mr. Kingsbury not being perfectly satisfied with his effort, proposed a written debate. He agreed to furnish twelve letters for *The Teacher*. He wrote five, and then gave up the controversy.

I again visited Northern Indiana; then Michigan, preaching wherever I could gather congregations. Had

some conversation with an intelligent Indian near Peru, on the Upper Wabash.

I. "I no believe in your Bible, or your Jesus Christ—not a word of it."

M. "Well, my friend, do you believe in a God, and a hereafter?"

I. "That I do. I believe in the Great Spirit, and that he will take good care of his children. No man ever killed him, as your Bible says man killed God. He is away beyond the reach of arrow or cross. Who brought God to life if he was killed? You tell me that."

M. "The Bible does not say God was slain. He is a Great Spirit, and in him we all live, move and have our being. You say truly, man cannot harm him. Jesus Christ was not God, but rather a divine man, and was sent here by the Great Spirit to instruct us in wisdom's ways. But do you not think God has sent prophets here to instruct his children?"

I. "I do. My nation has had prophets. They taught us to use the bow and arrow; and how to raise corn, potatoes, and tobacco. We bless the Great Spirit for such prophets."

M. "God is no respecter of persons. He has sent other nations prophets, and Jesus Christ is the wisest and best ever given the world. He taught that God is a spirit, and that we should worship him in spirit and in truth; that we are his children; that he loves us, is good to us, and ever will be our Father and Friend. Do you object to that?"

I. "All good, but the missionaries no talk so. They say Jesus is God, and that he was killed to save man from his own wrath."

M. We perfectly agree. By examining the New Testament, you will find it teaches that Jesus Christ was a prophet of the Great Spirit, and that he was sent to tell us how to live, not to save us from the wrath of God, or the fires of hell. His is a glorious work, and we are assured it will be well done. Your nations has likely had prophets, but, acquaint yourself with this one ere you reject him.

I. "You tell me new things. I will read the New Testament."

The country south of Fort Wayne is flat, wet, and in those days was covered with a dense forest, and the settlers' cabins, were far apart—in some places, miles apart. I remember, when on this journey, of traveling a whole day without passing more than half a dozen houses. It was a gloomy, rainy, autumnal day, the roads were in a wretched condition, in many places nearly impassable, the mud and water being so deep. When nearly dark, I met an ugly looking fellow with a gun on his shoulder; and while inquiring about the road, I heard a distant noise, which seemed to proceed from some one in distress. I called his attention to it, and proposed we ascertain what was the matter. He made no answer but walked off in the opposite direction. I told him he was a strange mortal, and I should try to learn who was making that noise, for somebody was surely in trouble; and immediately plunged into the thick woods, in the direction whence the mournful sound proceeded. About a quarter of a mile from the road, I came to a small opening in the forest, where was a cabin, and in front of the cabin was a fire, and at the side of the fire was a young woman ironing clothes and singing a mournful air

as loud as she could scream. This was the noise I took to be cries of distress. I learned from her, that the fellow I had just seen was her husband, and that they had been married about two weeks, after three weeks acquaintance. I told her about meeting him in the road; that I believed he was not there for a good purpose; moreover, was fearful she had married a scamp. Learning from her it was ten miles to the nearest house, I bid her good-by, for I did not care about stopping long in that locality. While leading my horse back to the road, for the underbrush was so thick I could not ride, I heard several times a slight noise in the woods near me, but paid no particular attention to it. After much difficulty, and many scratches, I regained the road. But had proceeded only a short distance when I became satisfied that the fellow I had just seen was following me, for I could distinctly hear footsteps in the woods, a few rods at the left. The night being very dark, I could not see him, could hardly see my horse; and the mud being deep, and the horse tired, could travel only at a slow gait. Stopped the horse, and peered into the dark, but nothing could be seen. The rascal came to a halt when I stopped. I dismounted on the right side of the horse, having him between me and the villain. Stood there, perhaps, fifteen minutes, without either party making the least noise, expected every moment to hear the crack of his gun. He finally made tracks *from* me as fast as he could run, and I remounting, proceeded on my journey. He doubtless intended to rob me, steal my horse, perhaps do worse; but presuming I was armed — but was not — and seeing I was pretty resolute, he dare not attack me without being sure of decided advantage. Being on that road again soon after, I learned he

had fled to parts unknown, to escape being arrested for some crime.

The next day reached Anderson; while there, delivered five discourses. At the close of one of them, a Methodist minister replied. He dwelt long on the words of the apostle Paul, "As it is appointed unto men once to die and after that the judgment." Heb. ix. 28. I answered:

If the gentleman is correct in his understanding of this passage, it demolishes one tenet of Orthodoxy. The passage asserts, that "it is *appointed* unto men once to die." Now, the creeds assert that temporal death is *not* of divine appointment, but rather contrary to the divine purpose and plan. Man was created *immortal*, and it was the will of God he should not die; it was the divine appointment he should live forever. But in an evil hour, Adam, the first man, sinned, and brought temporal death on himself and on all his posterity, contrary to the divine appointment. This is the Orthodox view of the cause of death. If it is correct the passage does not refer to temporal death, hence, the judgment spoken of in the text, is not subsequent to temporal death, as Orthodoxy asserts, which is doubtless correct.

To what "men" does the text refer? for it does not say *all* men are appointed to die. Read the second verse following: "For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices which THEY offered year by year continually make the comers thereunto perfect." The pronoun "they" in this verse, as any one can see, refers to the "men" spoken of in the text. The apostle says, "they," that is, the "men," "offered sacrifices." Now, all men do not offer sacrifices, neither are they re-

quired to. But under the Jewish law, a certain class of men were appointed to offer sacrifices for the sins of the people. They were the *priests*, and it is to them, and to them only, the text refers. According to the grammatical structure of the text and context, the "men" were a class whose business it was to offer sacrifices. It is certain, then, the apostle does not speak of all men, but of a certain class of his countrymen. And this is confirmed by the fact, that in the Greek, the article *tois* is before the word men, and that article means *the* or *those*. In the same book, chapter seven, verse twenty-seven, this article is rendered *thōse* —"who needeth not daily, as *those high priests*, to offer sacrifice, first for his own people's; for this he did once, when he offered up himself." Retaining the article, as in this place, the passage reads, "And as it is appointed unto *those* men once to die." What men? Why, the men appointed by the Jewish law to offer sacrifices.— the high priests.

But did those men "die" in their sacrifices? Yes, in the sense here intended. In the sixteenth and seventeenth verses, speaking of the first testament, the apostle says, "For where a testament is, there must of necessity be the *death* of the testator, for a testament is of force when men are *dead*; otherwise it is of no strength at all while the testator liveth." It is so now. No *will* or *testament* is in force till the testator is *dead*. Well, Moses was the testator of the Jewish covenant, and we know that was in full force *before* Moses *died temporally*. What kind of a death, then, does the apostle mean? Read, on: "For when Moses had spoken every precept to all the people," that is, given them the whole covenant, "according to the law, he took the blood of calves and goats, with water and scarlet wool, and myrrh, and

sprinkled both the books," that contained the covenant "and all the people, saying, This is the *blood of the testament* which God hath enjoined unto you." This sacrifice which Moses then offered in the presence of the people, is what the apostle calls the *death of the testator*. He did not, of course, die temporally, but he shed blood, offered sacrifice, and thereby sealed the covenant, and that is called the death of the testator. Well, we know the Jewish priests were set apart, "appointed" to "die" for the people in the same sense Moses died to seal the covenant. The language with reference to Moses dying in his sacrifice, explains what is meant by the words, "it is appointed unto men once to die," they died as Moses died.

There is allusion here to the Annual Atonement of the Jews. On that great occasion, the priest, who was the most conspicuous personage, appeared before the assembled congregation—that appearing was typical of Christ's first coming. The priest then offered sacrifice for the sins of the Jewish nation—that was typical of the death of Christ for the world. The priest, then disappeared, and entered into the "Holiest of all,"—that was typical of Christ entering into paradise. In due time the priest reappeared to the people — that was typical of Christ's resurrection, his "*second* appearing." The priest at his second appearing before the people, passed *judgment* on them, which was, that their sins were forgiven — that was typical of the judgment passed on all who trust in the risen Savior. They behold him the second time—the risen, the glorified Savior, without sin unto salvation. His first appearing, was when he came in the flesh; his second appearing, when he showed himself to the world in his spiritual and glorified condition, and all who con-

fide in the risen Redeemer, as the way, the truth, and the life, are blessed with life and salvation. To them he "appears the second time without sin unto salvation."

I also delivered several discourses in Franklin. A Millerite, at the close of one of them, attempted to show the New Testament teaches, that this earth will be destroyed. His chief reliance was on Matt. xiii. "That passage," said he, "speaks of the end of the world, the harvest, and the furnace of fire. It is not figurative language. This world is to be burned up, and then the wicked will be cast into a lake of fire. I do not know when all this will take place. It may occur to-day, to-morrow, this year, next year; I know not the hour, day or year, but I do know that dreadful day of destruction will come, sooner, or later."

I replied: "The passage in Matt. xiii. affords the gentleman's destructive theory no aid whatever. It is the judgment of learned men that the "end of the world," in that passage, is the end of the Jewish world, or age—that Christ has no reference to the destruction of this material earth. Bishop Pearce renders the original, "End of the age, viz: that is, of the Jewish dispensation." Dr. Hammond translates it thus: "Conclusion of the age." Dr. Cappe says, the words mean, "The accomplishment of the age, which in scripture language, uniformly relates to the Mosaic economy." This interpretation is fully sustained by the New Testament. Speaking of Jesus, an apostle says: "For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once in the *end of the world* hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." Heb. ix. 26. At the end of what world was Christ sacrificed? Not the end of this earth, surely, for it has survived his death most two thou-

sand years. In another place the same apostle represents the end of the world as having taken place in his day. "And they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world *are come*." 1 Cor. x. 11. If the apostle Paul was right, my friend here is miserably deluded. The Mosaic world, or era, did end in the apostolic age, and to that the New Testament always refers when speaking of the end of the world.

"The harvest," says Jesus, "is the end of the world." In the Bible, the end of an era, a city, or nation, is called its harvest. Of the destruction of the city of Babylon, it is said, "For thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, the daughter of Babylon is like a threshing floor, it is time to thresh her; yet a little while, and the time of her *harvest* shall come . . . And Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons; an astonishment, and a hissing, without an inhabitant." Jer. li. 33, 37. The end of that city is called its harvest; so the end of the Jewish dispensation is called its harvest.

The ending of the Jewish world involved the ruin of that nation. Jesus often warned his countrymen of the coming calamity; told them plainly unless they reformed they would all perish in the approaching storm. That national desolation is called "wrath to come," "damnation," "everlasting punishment," "furnace of fire." "Whose fire is in Zion, and his *furnace is in Jerusalem*." Isa. xxxi. 9. "Son of man, the house of Israel is to me become dross: all they are brass, and tin, and iron, and lead, in the midst of the furnace; they are even the dross of silver. Therefore thus saith the Lord God; Because ye are all become dross, behold, therefore I will gather you into the midst of Jerusalem. As they gather silver, and brass, and iron, and lead, and tin into the midst of

the furnace, to blow the fire upon it, to melt it; so will I gather you in mine anger and in my fury, and I will leave you there, and melt you. Yea, I will gather you, and blow upon you in the fire of my wrath, and ye shall be melted in the midst thereof. As silver is melted in the midst of the furnace, so shall ye be melted in the midst thereof; and ye shall know that I the Lord have poured out my fury upon you." Ezek. xxii. 18-22. These passages illustrate the meaning of "furnace of fire;" tell where it is — *in Jerusalem*, not in eternity, as the gentleman imagines. In the text, the wicked Jews are called "tares;" in the above quotations are termed "dross," "dross of silver," "lead," "iron," "tin." At the end of the Jewish state, the righteous, — the gold and wheat of the nation, — were saved, but the "tares," the "dross" were destroyed by famine, pestilence, and the sword. This passage, then, has no reference to the destruction of this earth, nor to any calamity beyond the grave.

Although I find no evidence in the New Testament of the destruction of this earth, I conclude from analogy, it is destined to be destroyed. Everything living on the earth has its birth, maturity, and death. This is true of every plant, animal and man. And is it not so of the earth? The matter composing it may be eternal, but there was doubtless a time in the distant past when this globe had no existence. It is supposed the sun once occupied the space in which the planets are now revolving, and that those planets, with their satellites, were then parts of the sun; but by the operation of laws governing that immense mass of matter, portions become detached from time to time, and commenced revolving on their axis, and around the mother globe. Those detached portions are now the

planets belonging to the solar system. If this hypothesis be correct, the earth had a beginning. It has passed through wonderful changes since the day of its birth — has condensed, cooled, and become fit for the growth of vegetation, and for the habitation of animals and man. And will it not in time lose its vitality like a decrepit old man, and finally die, and return to the sun whence it came? Is not this to be the fate of all the planets? And will not the sun himself lose his life, luster and glory, and fall into the vortex whence he came? And will not this decomposed matter again be vitalized, and form other globes? And is not birth, growth, death and decomposition going on, not only among plants, animals, and men, but in all departments of the material universe? And has not this process been everlastingly going on? and will it not continue to go on forever and ever?

Lectured at Columbus several times; and in going there, got rather a cold bath. Came to a stream; being informed by a man living on its bank, it was shallow, plunged into its foaming water without hesitation, but soon found that it was deep and rapid. Reaching the opposite shore wet through, and the weather being very cold, my clothes were soon frozen from head to foot. Rode several miles in that condition, and when I reached Columbus, which was in the night, was about as cold as a living man can be. A preacher replied to one of the discourses in a very bitter spirit, and I took occasion to exhibit some of the contradictions of his brethren, thus:

It is believed, Jesus Christ is the Savior of the world, but that nine-tenths of the world will be forever lost. It is believed, Jesus tasted death for every man, but

that millions will receive no benefit therefrom. It is believed, Jesus will reign till he subdues all things to God, but that a majority of mankind will be eternally unsubdued. It is believed, all war is unchristian, but that God will keep up a war in hell forever. It is believed, capital punishment is wrong, but that God will inflict capital punishment on all who leave this world unregenerated. It is believed, we ought to overcome evil with good, but that God will overcome it by inflicting an infinite evil. It is believed to be the duty of man to labor in season and out of season to regenerate his fellow man, but that God will defeat his labors by placing multitudes where salvation never can be attained. It is believed, mankind are brethren, but that a devil will sever that brotherhood, and drag most of our race into the infernal regions. It is believed, we should love our fellow men, but that God hates nearly all of them with infinite hatred. It is believed, we should imitate God, but if we did so, provided the creeds are true, we should be incarnate fiends. It is believed, there is only one God, but that in reality there are three Gods. It is believed, man by nature is religious, but that by nature he is totally depraved. These, and many others, are the contradictions of what is called Orthodoxy. Can that theory be all divine which so abounds with absurdities and contradictions?

I subsequently had a discussion in this place with J. Wright, a Disciple minister. Salvation, said I, in one of my speeches, is the theme of the Bible — of Moses, the prophets, Jesus and the apostles. But what is salvation? Mr. Wright says, it is from an endless hell, from the wrath of God, from the power of satan. He described in burning words the horrors of the in-

fernal pit of his creed. He described them *beautifully*, and I noticed some of his brethren seemed delighted with the charming picture. They, doubtless, feel sure of a comfortable seat in the heavenly mansion, having had their sins washed away in yonder stream, and expect to have the supreme satisfaction of seeing us, the unbaptized, writhing in the flames of hell, the victims of devils, and the cursed of God. They laugh now in anticipation of this great joy to come. I envy them not their spirit nor their hopes. But according to the Bible, salvation is deliverance from sin, error, condemnation, moral death. "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Savior, Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. These things speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority. Let no man despise thee." Titus ii. 11–15. This is a clear statement of salvation. It is deliverance from "all iniquity" — soul-purification — and is effected by the grace or truth of God, teaching us to "deny ungodliness and wordly lusts, and live soberly, righteously and godly" amid the evils of this world. "These things speak and exhort," adds the apostle. Let this be remembered by those who assert that a *present* salvation is nothing, is not worth striving for, if there are not eternal fires beyond the grave. "Let no man despise you." Remember this, ye who despise the message of him, who urges a present

salvation, but know nothing of salvation from the wrath of God, nor the torments of perdition.

The first time salvation is referred to in the Bible, it relates to deliverance from iniquity. "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." Gen. iii. 15. Here we have the cheering assurance, that sin, symbolized by the serpent, shall be crushed, ruined, destroyed, and Adam's race, consequently, delivered from its blasting, deadly effects, but not a word about salvation from the future, everlasting hell Mr. W. talks so eloquently about. In Mal. iii. 2, 3, the mission of Jesus is clearly stated: "But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for he is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap: and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver: and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness." Jesus is the refiner; truth is the fire; man, created in the image of God, is the gold; the dross is man's falsities. As the refiner with his fire separates the gold from the dross, saves the one and destroys the other, so Jesus, by the word of truth, the gospel of our salvation, purifies our souls, separates the earthly from the heavenly, saves the one and destroys the other. Not a word here about deliverance f om the flames of hell, or the wrath of God. The earthly father of this soul-refiner was instructed to call his name Jesus, because he would "save his people from *their sins*;" and during his ministry on earth, Jesus labored to that end. "Repent!" cried he, "for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,"—not the kingdom of hell, mark you. We should repent, reform, live purely and

righteously, from *heavenly* considerations — not from motives of an infernal nature. Nineteen-twentieths of the sermons of this age would not be uttered if all the preachers understood that text.

At last, the great Reformer died, and the apostle tells why he died. "He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him who died for them and rose again." 2 Cor. v. 15. Jesus lived, labored, died, and rose again, that we might "live unto him." But we are told by the popular creed, it was the end and aim of Jesus, whether living or dying, to placate the wrath of God, and save us from a burning hell. After the Master's death, the apostles continued the work, and it is well known they labored faithfully for the present salvation of their fellow men. The chief of them said, "Jesus, whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man, in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." Col. i. 28. He preached to make men perfect in gospel virtues — not to redeem them from a fabled world of woe. The apostle's words to his pupil, Timothy, are very comprehensive: "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." 2 Tim. ii. 16, 17. The object of all heavenly influences is summed up in these brief words. To perfect our character, and make us rich in good works is the ultimate of revelation. And how much more rational is this than the popular notion, that it is a device to satisfy justice, appease heaven's wrath, and rescue us from hell's flames.

The discussion was to have continued four days, but Mr. Wright's friends closed it on the evening of the sec-

ond day. He remarked to an acquaintance of mine soon after this, he had "rather debate with a ten-acre field full of sectarians, than with one Universalist."

From Columbus I journeyed to Nashville, and delivered three discourses. "It is too good to be true," said a preacher, at the close of one of the sermons. I remarked, "That is the strongest objection I know of to this soul-cheering faith. That ourselves, relatives, friends, all mankind, are the children of God; that he loves us with a love many floods cannot quench; that we have all commenced a life never to end, and are destined to grow wiser, and better, and happier, forever and ever; that we shall again meet the loved and lost of earth, and hand in hand, soul linked to soul, forever tread the courts of the New Jerusalem—that we are born to so rich and glorious an inheritance is hard, I admit, to believe. But there are many other blessings, we might think the same of under certain circumstances. Had it been our sad lot to be confined to this date in a dungeon, never to have known father, mother, brother, sister, never to have seen the face of a friend or heard the voice of love, never to have seen the green earth, the bright sun, or blue sky, and told to-day for the first time, that the beautiful earth and star-spangled sky exist as we now behold them, full of beauty for the eye, music for the ear, and love for the heart, and that in a short time we should exchange our dark, damp, cold cell, for this glorious world, where we should meet father, mother, brother and sister, would we not exclaim in the language of the brother, 'It is too good to be true!'

"One who has been an Atheist all his life; never heard of a God, or of a future life, when told for the first time there is a God who governs the world, and guides

the destinies of men, and that he is immortal and will live forever, I say when these facts are first revealed to him, he would most likely say, 'It is too good to be true.' A family that has ever been doomed to want, sickness, disappointment, and sorrow in every form, when informed that a kind friend has deeded them a comfortable home, and provided for their future support and happiness, and that within a few days they will come in possession of all these blessings, when informed of this they would probably unbelievingly exclaim, 'It is too good to be true.'

"I am not at all surprised to hear people, who have lived all their life-time in the shade and gloom and sorrow of a dark, repulsive, and cruel theology, say, 'Universalism is too good to be true.' There is so vast a difference between that partial, gloomy creed, and the 'grace of God which bringeth salvation to all men,' I do not wonder they think the latter too good to be true. It is certainly true we do not merit, by any act of ours, such blessings, and are lost in wonder when we reflect on the vastness of our heavenly inheritance, and nothing short of the best of evidence makes us rest in our glorious hope. But our hope is based on a sure foundation, on the Character, Purpose, and Promises of God. On this divine trinity we found our faith, and rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.

"But the doctrine of endless misery is too bad to be true. The theory, that consigns countless millions of mankind to the wrath of God, and the flames of hell, is altogether too bad to be true. Before I can subscribe to such a monstrous creed, I must believe God to be the worst being in the universe, has no love, mercy, justice, goodness, but is the very essence of cruelty and malig-

nity; I must believe all this ere I can, for a moment, harbor the thought that he can be the author of ceaseless suffering. But while I have reason to rejoice in his goodness, I will cling to the faith the gentleman thinks is 'too good to be true.'

CHAPTER XII.

While residing in Terre Haute, I had a debate in Franklin, Ind., with A. L. Edmonds, on the final destiny of man. The discussion continued four days. Mr. Edmonds dwelt long and emphatically on the *Justice* of God, claimed that it required the endless wretchedness of offenders. I replied as follows:

It is said *Justice* requires the endless suffering of some men; that though the goodness, mercy, and benevolence of the Deity may be in favor of the ultimate happiness of all men, yet his justice requires that the wicked who die in their sins, be doomed to suffer unending torment. The system of faith of which the doctrine of endless punishment is part, suspends men's final state upon the *condition* they are in when they leave this world. The question is not how they *live*, but how they *die*. This is the point, the pivot, upon which turns the immortal destinies of men. No matter how sinful a man may live; "though wicked as Cain, and corrupt as Mary Magdalene with her seven devils," if he only *repents*, believes in the Lord Jesus, joins the church, or, in fine, "gets religion" just before he dies, all is well with him, his reward is heaven. While on the other hand, no mat-

ter how moral, upright and godly a man lives, though he knows and *obeys* the scriptures from his youth up to a good old age, discharges all his duties as a humble and faithful Christian, and is the means of blessing hundreds of his fellow beings, both temporally and spiritually; yet, "if he falls from grace," and becomes a sinner, even but one day before he dies, he goes to hell.

This is a briefly drawn picture of the system advocated by that class of men who *seem* to be such sticklers for justice. And it is a true and faithful representation, so far as it goes, of the Orthodox plan of salvation and *damnation*, "nothing extenuated, nor aught set down in malice." Nor all its advocates can do, will ever be sufficient, to make the system appear anything different from this representation. Indeed, I do not think they will *try* to do it, they *believe* and *understand* it, as I have described it. Let it stand sc then, as good and wholesome Orthodoxy, while I instance a few cases for illustration, that we may be the better enabled to see some of the monstrosities and legitimate conclusions which must forever fellow the above admitted premises.

1. Charles and Henry were brothers, twin brothers; they lived together until they had attained their twentieth year, when Charles died; and as he had made no profession of religion, was sent to hell. Had Henry died at the same time, he would have shared a similar doom, for he was as destitute of religion as his brother; luckily for him, however, he lived until his seventieth year, during the whole of which time he was in an unconverted state, except the last six months; for the last six months he had lived a pious life, and consequently was admitted, after his death, into heaven.

"The punishment of sin," saith my friend, "does not

take place here, but is deferred until the sinner reaches the spirit world." Consequently, Henry received no punishment in this world, for his long career of sinfulness; and it will not be pretended he received any in heaven — he was therefore not punished at all. But how fares it with his brother Charles? He, poor fellow, must welter in quenchless flames, for the crimes of his brief existence. Has God rendered to these twins according to justice?

2. Two young men attempt murder for money, and while engaged in the foul deed, one of them is killed accidentally, by his comrade, from the discharge of a pistol, and, of course, goes immediately to *an endless hell!* The other succeeds in assassinating his victim — takes his money, which is sufficient to purchase a vessel; one is procured, and after obtaining a crew to his mind, he launches forth upon the "great deep," an abandoned pirate. Hark! do you hear those cries of despair floating from a ship in distress? Hark again! those were the cries of women; the young mother, and the "gay guiltless" maiden are there. The youth and the man of gray hairs — but the sounds of lamentation have ceased — all is over with them. The pirate ship has been there, and the unfortunate have all been doomed; for alas they had no religion. Forty years pass, and the pirate is arraigned before a tribunal of justice — is condemned — and confesses that, besides the innumerable abominations he has committed in his long life of wickedness, he has been accessory to the murder of four hundred persons! What must be done with him? hell is too good for him! Yes, hell is too good for him, and, of course, he must go to heaven. A few days are given him — he repents — and swings from the gallows off to

glory. There, from his exalted station of bliss, he looks down into the abodes of the damned, and sees scores of wretched beings, sent there by his own hands. Among his unfortunate victims, he sees the innocent girl of sixteen, and the gray-headed father — and there, too, is his first companion of crime, who fell ere he completed his first deed of wickedness. Is this justice? the justice of an infinitely just God? Oh mockery!

3. Two men, A and B, avowed enemies, meet in the street. Each is armed with a rifle, and each makes ready to dispatch his enemy. A presents his gun, it snaps; the cap was out of order. In an instant B takes a deadly aim, his rifle discharges, and A is a dead man. B is arrested, condemned and dies; but, as in all such cases, he repented in time to secure heaven as a reward! Now if A's gun had not missed fire, he would have killed B, and, of course sent him to hell, while he might have repented and gone to heaven. But he, poor fellow, must go to hell, merely for the want of a good cap!

The most abandoned wretch that ever disgraced humanity, can, according to this bankrupt system, obtain an easy passport to heaven, by a few minutes repentance just before he dies, while the faithful Christain, the laborer in the cause of his Master — though he wears out a long life in warning his fellows, and inducing them to reform; though he is the means of converting hundreds to the belief and practice of the Christian religion, yet, if in an evil hour, he deviates from the path of rectitude — becomes a sinner, and dies suddenly, without time to repent, he goes to an endless hell! Oh, what justice! what consistency! Orthodoxy, thou art *not* a jewel!

Orthodoxy may sing her syren song the world over, it

will not alter facts; men are punished here for their sins; and the worst of it all is, these poor wretches, who have been deceived by the song, and thereby led into sin, still receive their punishment before they die, and often without knowing that it is the reward of their own doings! They will charge their suffering to a cruel fate, hard fortune, or some other cause, not knowing that the hand of a just God is upon them! But whether men believe it or not, if they do wrong, they must and will receive their reward; and if their experience fails to undeceive them, it may convince those that live after them, that there "is a God who judgeth in the earth," and that "he cannot do iniquity."

I closed my last speech on the last proposition as follows: I am now nearly through with my part in this debate. I have presented the gospel to you the past four days as I truly believe it. The word *gospel* signifies *good news;* and the gospel of Jesus Christ is good news from God to man, from heaven to earth. It tells us

1. That God is the Father of mankind. "Have we not *all* one Father?" Addressing Pagans in Athens, the Gentile apostle said, "We are the offspring of God." Jesus instructs us to pray, "Our Father, who art in heaven." He also teaches that our heavenly Father's love far exceeds the earthly parent's love for his offspring. And the God who inspired him and his apostles to utter such noble sentiments, hath said, "The mother may forget her child but I will not forget you." Is not this good news to the sons and daughters of earth? We are passing away; our loved ones are passing away; and is it not blissful news, that we have an ever living and ever present Friend, who will never leave nor forsake us?

2. This same gospel also proclaims the good news of

eternal life and a blissful immortality for mankind. We are the children of God; we are created in his image; we partake of his immortal nature; and, commencing our existence in the bud of being, in the cradle of life, are destined to manifest more and more the divinity of our nature, as the eternal ages bear us onward and upward.

3. From these cardinal truths, the New Testament draws the logical inference, that we should love the Lord our God with all our heart, soul and strength, and our fellow men as ourself. God is the Father of all; his love extends to all, hence we should be loving and dutiful children. All belong to one family; are members of one household, hence should be kind, forbearing, and forgiving. This is the gospel in letter and spirit, in theory and practice; and nothing but this is the gospel. It is all embraced in the word, *love* — a little word, but the length, breadth, and depth of the universe are required to express its meaning. God is love, his purpose is love, and love will bless his children while immortality endures.

But there is not a drop of love, nor a note of glad tidings in my opponent's creed. It wickedly asserts it to be the purpose of God to consign millions of mankind to regions of eternal sorrow, darkness and death. The words, love, goodness, mercy, justice, gospel, good news, glad tidings, should be all stricken from the Bible, if Mr. Edmonds' creed is true, and words that savor of fire and brimstone, should take their places. Yea, the sun, moon and stars, the refreshing shower, the genial breeze, and productive earth, should all tell of fire and fury, instead of love, goodness and justice, if eternal woe is to be the doom of half of mankind. If this terrible dogma is true, on the blazing disc of the sun

should be written in characters as black as midnight — *endless woe;* on the pale face of the moon, and on every twinkling star — *endless woe*, that all might read their doom from night to morn, from morn to night; and every breeze that blows, should scream in our ears so loud that the dead might hear — *endless woe.* But thank heaven, God is love, the gospel is good news, and these malignant creeds are false.

Clergymen of different orders attended the discussion; meetings were held by them evenings, but all were silent concerning the subjects in dispute. The disputants were kind and courteous, and their Christian spirit pervaded the hearers of all creeds. A church was organized in Franklin the day after the debate closed, and I preached in the place monthly for one year. But the distance was too far for me to continue the visits, and as no one could be obtained to take my place, the meetings were suspended. The good cause has suffered all over the West for want of competent ministers to supply the wants of the people. If a dozen faithful pastors had been located in Indiana in those days, liberal churches would have been permanently established all over the state — in Franklin, Columbus, Martinsville, Gosport, Bloomington, Greencastle, Ladoga, Crawfordville, Perrysville, Covington, Fort Wayne, Richmond, and in many other places where we now have no organizations. But ministers could not be obtained, hence much of the labor of the missionary was of but little avail. Having a paper on my hands, I was obliged to travel far and near to sustain it, and could not devote much time to any one place.

A few days after this discussion, I delivered several discourses in Edinburg — one in the Methodist meeting-

house, and the subject, at the request of the pastor, was "Total Depravity." The following is the gist of the discourse:

I will first show by the advocates of total depravity, what they mean by it. The "Presbyterian Confession of Faith" thus defines it: "The sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell, consisted in the guilt of Adam's first sin, the want of that righteousness wherein he was created, and the corruption of his nature, whereby he is utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all that is spiritually good, and wholly inclined to all evil, and that continually."

"Shorter Catechism:" "The sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell, consists in the *guilt of Adam's first sin*, the want of original righteousness, and the corruption of his whole nature."

The "Baptist Philadelphia Confession" says, that "Our first parents, by this sin, fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and we in them, whereby death came upon all, all becoming dead in sin, and *wholly* defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body."

"Methodist Discipline:" "Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk) but in the corruption of the nature of every man, that is naturally engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and of his *own nature inclined to evil*, and that continually."

John Calvin thus explains this doctrine: "Original sin seems to be the inheritable perverseness and corruption of our nature, poured abroad in *all parts of the soul*, which first makes us deserving of God's wrath, and then

also bringeth forth those works in us, called in Scripture, the works of the flesh. These two things are distinctly to be noted, that is, that, being thus in all parts of our nature perverted and corrupted, we are now, even for such corruption, only holden worthy of damnation," etc.

W. W. Perkins: "In reprobate infants, the execution of God's decree is this: as soon as they are born, for the guilt of original and actual sin, being left in God's secret judgment unto themselves, they dying are rejected of God forever."

Twiss: "Every man that is damned, is damned for original as well as actual sins, and many thousand infants, *only for original.*"

Arthur Hildersham: "There is in them (infants) a natural proneness, disposition and inclination to every thing that is evil; as there is in the young lion, or of a bear, or of a wolf, unto cruelty, or in the egg of a cockatrice, before it is hatched. You have heard it evidently proved, 1. That all infants are sinners and deserve damnation. 2. That many infants have been vessels of wrath and fire-bands of hell."

Here we have a full, clear, perfect definition of total depravity, as taught by Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists. They teach that all mankind are by *nature*, "utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all that is good, and wholly inclined to all evil." Every human being, according to this theory, is "wholly inclined to *all evil*"— to lying, cheating, stealing, murdering, etc., etc., etc. All men, then, by nature are liars, thieves, and murderers. This is the character of every infant when born into this world. Mark the words, "There is in infants a natural proneness, disposition and inclination to *every thing that is evil*, as there is in the young lion,

or of the bear, or of the wolf, unto cruelty, or in the egg of the cockatrice before it be hatched," hence the writer adds, "1. All infants are *sinners*, and deserve damnation. 2. That many infants have been vessels of wrath and fire-brands of hell."

If this is all true, for six thousand years God has been creating totally depraved beings — thieves, liars, assassins, murderers. God is the source whence all crime flows, for he creates all mankind *villains;* gives them all an "inclination to all evil." And this is not the worst of it — all deserve everlasting damnation, because God creates them inclined to villainy of every name and grade The definition of depravity given above, means all this, says all this, and to be a true Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist, one must believe all this. But we ask, who really believes a word of it? Who believes God is the monster of these creeds? Who believes he has cursed us all with an infernal nature, and then damns millions forever and ever, for being cursed with such a nature? Where is the mother who really believes her infant is totally depraved, wholly "inclined to all evil," "a fire-brand of hell," and "deserves damnation?" People may subscribe to such horrid notions, preach them, and try to defend them, but who really, heart and soul, believes them?

Faith in total depravity would destroy all confidence between man and man. Who would trust a fellow he believed to be "wholly inclined to all evil?" Who would employ such a physician, lawyer or clerk? Who would trust such a banker, or commission merchant? Who would ride on a railroad, or sail in a vessel, run by such wretches? If men really believed in total depravity, they would tremble with fear by day and by night.

They would shun each other as they shun a deadly serpent. And if that dogma were true, there would be no virtue, truth, purity in the world, but crime of every name and grade would reign supreme. God would not be known, and a devil would be universally worshiped. I am aware several passages of scripture are adduced to sustain this theory of innate total depravity, and will briefly show they refer to nothing of the kind.

1. "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." Psalm li. 5. There is nothing here about total depravity, or of our nature being "wholly inclined to all evil." All inherit tendencies to evil and to good, not, though, from Adam, but from their parents. Such biases are *constitutional*, not *natural*. Besides, we are not to understand these words literally. David uttered them in a season of great debasement. They are hyperbolical like the following: "I am poured out like water; and all my bones are out of joint; my heart is like wax; it is melted in the midst of my bowels." "And my bones are consumed." "All my bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto thee." "I am a worm and not man." All this is to be understood figuratively.

2. "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean thing? Not one." Job xiv. 4. Of course, the *moral character* of many is unclean, but what does that prove about their *nature?* It does not intimate that any one is *born* unclean.

3. "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thought of his heart was only evil continually." Gen. vi. 5. This simply means that the antediluvians were a very wicked people; not that they were born totally depraved, for in the 12th verse it is said, "all flesh *had*

corrupted his way," which it could not have done if the Creator had made "all flesh" totally corrupt at its birth. The men before the flood were corrupt by practice, not by nature.

4. "The heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked; who can know it?" Jer. xvi. 9. The prophet is speaking "of the sin of Judah." In the first verse he says, "The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, and the point of a diamond; it is graven upon the table of their hearts, and upon the horns of your altars." It was not the sin of Adam entailed upon them; it was their own sin, the sin of Judah. They had corrupted their hearts, had departed from virtue's ways, had become "desperately wicked." I see nothing here about being created totally depraved.

5. "They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there are none that doeth good, no, not one." Rom. ii. 12. This passage clearly proves that men, in the days of St. Paul, had corrupted themselves, not that they were born totally corrupt. "They had *gone* out of the way," not *born* "out of the way." They had "*become* unprofitable," not *born* "unprofitable." "Their throat is an open sepulcher, their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness, their feet is swift to shed blood." Verses 12, 14, 15. Is this true of *infants?* We know it is not. He is not speaking, then, of man's condition by *nature* but by *practice*. In the preceding chapter the apostle says, "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by *nature*, the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves, which shows the works of the law written *in their hearts*." Wicked as men were in those days, "deceitful" as were their hearts, and "des-

perately wicked," the law of God was written in their hearts, and they often did by nature, "the things contained in the law," proving that their nature was not totally depraved.

These are the principal passages cited to prove the total depravity of man; but it is evident they fall short of anything of the kind. They prove, what all know to be true, that mankind have voluntarily corrupted themselves — some more and some less. None are perfect, none are totally depraved, and there are all grades and degrees, from the best man to the worst man. And, as we corrupt ourselves, we can reform ourselves. Corruption and purity, right and wrong, evil and good, life and death, salvation and damnation, heaven and hell, are set before us, and we have the ability to turn from the wrong, and lay hold on the good.

> "There's the marble, there's the chisel;
> Take them, work them to thy will.
> Thou alone must shape thy future —
> Heaven give thee strength and skill."

But the terrible theory that we inherit damnation and hell, that those blasting evils permeate our whole nature, corrupt the very springs of our life, constituting us "firebrands of hell," and that nothing but a miracle can purify us, and save us from endless burnings, I reject as utterly false and monstrous.

While in Edinburg, had some conversation with a Presbyterian minister on religious subjects.

P. "Why, you contend, Christians are rewarded in this world for their piety and virtue. I dissent from that. The Bible teaches me, that Christains are crushed to earth by the cross they bear. Sinners have no such burden to carry."

M. "It is true, the early Christians, by their enthusiasm in the Christian cause, often incurred the wrath of Jews and Pagans, and were sometimes roughly handled. But this was not because they were good men and women, but because they were deemed enemies of truth and righteousness — fanatics of a dangerous creed and party. The world did not know it was opposing God's noblemen, hence Christ, when in the agonies of death from the hands of the unbelieving multitude, cried, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The trials, hardships and persecutions they suffered, were incidental to the times, not the legitimate results of a holy life.

And right here is your mistake. You suppose the suffering they endured is the natural sequence of a divine life. In that you greatly err. The advocates of any unpopular cause, let it be good or bad, right or wrong, are sure to encounter opposition. Especially was this so in the early days of the Christian era. The nations of the earth, were ignorant, intolerant, cruel, and bloody — more so than at the present time. The early Christians, with a strong hand, laid hold of the religious creeds of their day, tore them to shreds, and scattered them to the four winds. This was more than the adherents of those creeds could bear, and, in accordance with the intolerant and cruel spirit of the times, they pursued the enemies of their ancient faith with fire and sword. The Christian cause was unpopular; the Christians were an insignificant minority, and the dominant party could not brook their zeal for what they regarded to be a wretched delusion.

Christianity is now popular; its advocates are very differently situated from what they were eighteen hundred years ago. There is now no cross to bear, as

that term was understood in the apostolic times. Those who come nearest bearing it, are those who 'trust in the living God as the Savior of all men.' They are often wickedly treated; but thank God, if any are inclined to revive the old persecutions, they have not the power to do so. But the truly good in all ages and climes are blessed, let their outward circumstances be what they may. Virtue is a divine fount, whence flows the elixir of life; it is the Eden tree whose fruit heals the nations. The good man's soul is in harmony with truth and righteousness; he lives an harmonious, heavenly life."

P. "But I cannot see there is as much difference in the happiness of saints and sinners, as in their character. The latter seem to enjoy themselves quite as well as the former, and sometimes even better."

M. "If the Bible is any authority, you are much mistaken. The wicked, in that book, are said to be 'servants,' 'captives,' 'strangers,' 'foreigners,' 'wandering prodigals;' Christians are said to be 'children,' 'freeman,' 'fellow-citizens of the household of God,' 'obedient children at home.' The wicked are represented as 'bearing a heavy burden' 'weary,' 'condemned,' 'dead,' 'blind,' 'hungry,' 'poor,' 'thirsty,' 'miserable;' but Christians as 'entering into rest,' being 'justified,' 'alive,' seeing 'the Son of righteousness,' 'eating the bread of God,' drinking 'the water of life,' possessing 'all things,' and rejoicing 'in the hope of the glory of God.' The difference between the two classes is clearly expressed thus: 'There is *no peace* to the wicked'—'*Great peace* have they that love thy law.' The outer life of the good and bad, may be much alike, but their *inner life* is vastly different. Into one, the sunshine of heaven is poured

and perpetual summer reigns; into the other, darkness has free access, and winter storms ever howl."

Returning to Terre Haute, I had some interesting talk with my fellow travelers and others. The first was a Catholic.

M. "What shall I do to be saved?"

C. "Believe in the Holy Catholic church, and obey it in all things."

M. "But cannot one be saved without being a Catholic? If one believes in God, Christ, and obeys the divine law, cannot he be saved though not a Catholic?"

C. "Possibly he may; but it is not safe to rest one's eternal all on such ground. The church is the door into heaven, and I have no evidence a soul can be saved without passing through that door. You Protestants have great expectations of reaching heaven, but I am fearful most of you will land where 'the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.'

The landlord of the house where I dined, was a zealous Methodist. "What shall I do to be saved?" I asked.

L. "Believe in the Lord Jesus."

M. "What must one believe concerning him?"

L. "That he is the second person in the adorable trinity, and willing and able to save all who come to him."

M. "Cannot one be saved without believing that Jesus is the second person in the trinity?"

L. "No. If you do not believe that, you are an infidel, and no infidel can be saved."

M. "Do you think Catholics can be saved?"

M. "My bar-room will hold all the Catholics who will be saved. And as for their popes, bishops and priests —

would not give a fig for their chance. Infidelity is bad enough, but popery is worse."

In the afternoon, I fell in company with a Presbyterian, and asked him, "What I should do to be saved?"

P. "Believe in Christ."

M. "What must I believe concerning Christ?"

P. "That he will save all he died for."

M. "How many did he die for?"

P. "'Are there *few* that be saved?' 'Strive to enter in at the strait gate, for narrow is the gate and strait is the way that leadeth to life and *few* there be that find it.' These scriptures teach that only a small part of mankind are embraced in the covenant of grace."

Soon after parting with this man, I fell in company with a Disciple, and I asked, "What must one do to be saved?"

D. "Believed, be baptized, and repent."

M. "Do you mean that no one can be saved hereafter, without faith, baptism, and repentance in this world?"

D. "I have no evidence any can."

Alas! I mentally exclaimed, how selfish, contracted and partial are the creeds of men. The Catholic consign all to hell outside of his church; the Methodist sends all to perdition who do not believe Jesus is the eternal God; the Presbyterian condemns all to everlasting burnings, but the elect few; the Disciple has no hope for any who do not accept of his creed, and take water. The truth concerning salvation, is all embraced in a few words. Jesus said, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul, and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself." And one of his apostles testifies that "Love is the fulfilling of the law." Whoever lives

in harmony with this law is saved, let his faith be what it may, and let him belong to what party he may, or to no party.

Where I stopped over night, a Mormon delivered a discourse in defence of Mormonism. He was an able man, well educated, and proved as clear as mud that the Latter-Day Saints are heaven's peculiar favorites. Every good Mormon, when he dies, we were told, is transported to one of the *stars*, and becomes its king, and will there reign over its inhabitants in regal splendor forever and ever. But anti-Mormons are consigned to the infernal regions of Pluto, to be his subjects eternally. He also told us, that Christ would come to this earth personally within a few years. "I expect," said he, "to live to witness his second advent. He will be a Mormon, and empower us to destroy the Gentiles; and when the work shall be well done, the Saints will possess the land. I warn you to flee from the wrath to come; accept of mercy while mercy is offered you; for when Jesus comes, he will shut the door, and your doom will be sealed." He pretended to be able to work miracles, and an old gentleman in the congregation arose and wished him to restore his sight. "Do you believe I can?" asked the speaker. "I will believe you can when you do the work," the old gentleman replied. "But do you believe *now* that I can?" "No, sir." "Then I will not restore your sight."

As soon as he was through, the crowd cried, "Manford! Manford! Manford!" I begged to be excused, but the people insisted I should pitch into Mormonism, and I finally spent an hour in reviewing it, and the discourse just delivered. I commenced by remarking, that I desired to make one statement, and to ask one ques-

tion. Jesus told his disciples on one occasion, that some of them would live to see him come the second time, (Matt. xvi. 28) and he intimated to Peter that John would be living when he would come. (John xxi. 28). "Now you," addressing the preacher, "told us, that coming *is yet future.* The question I wish to ask is this:

M. "Is John *now living?*"

L. S. "He is."

M. "Where is he?"

L. S. "Up North, somewhere. We know he is living for we have a document signed by him."

M. "Will you please show me that document."

L. S. "It is not in my possession; our prophet has it."

I then gave the history of the rise and progress of Mormonism: exposed its knavery, imposture, polygamy. The Mormons became very angry, and one coarse looking fellow shook his fist in my face. That was the first and last time I ever came in contact with Mormons. I was probably too severe; but being intensely disgusted at the man's defense of Mormonism, I gave free utterance to my indignation.

Self and Mrs. Manford journeyed to Cincinnati. Traveled in a buggy, and had a delightful jaunt, as the weather was pleasant, and the roads good—all in striking contrast with the other journey we took—the bridal tour. Were absent three weeks, and I preached nearly every day. Were at the annual meeting of the Indiana State Convention, where we met many friends from different portions of the state. Then to Louisville, Ky., and attended the yearly convocation of the Kentucky State Convention. From thence journeyed to Cincinnati, where I bought printing materials for *The Teacher*, then returned home.

CHAPTER XIII.

In 1846, I moved to Indianapolis, the capital of Indiana. Being in the center of the state, and the most important town therein, I deemed it a better locality than Terre Haute in which to publish *The Teacher*. It continued to be issued semi-monthly, and as I was absent much of the time, the editing and other labor connected with its publication, devolved on Mrs. Manford and Dr. J. H. Jordan. Whether I was present or absent it was always sent out regularly on its mission. Its circulation rapidly increased after this change of base; and being in the geographical center of the state, I could reach all parts thereof with less travel than before. I still continued to make the saddle my home considerable portion of the time. Preached annually, more or less, in nearly every county in the state, and Indiana includes a large territory, being two hundred and fifty miles north and south, and one hundred and fifty east and west. I also extended my peregrinations into Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Iowa and Michigan. Friends of liberal principles were every where multiplying; more and more interest was being taken in the good cause, and my congregations were generally increasing. Was much encouraged, though my labor at home and abroad

was much augmented. Often wished I could be divided into a dozen parts, that I might be in as many places at once.

There were but few of the liberal faith in Indianapolis. About the time I moved there, B. F. Foster commenced preaching in the old Court-house — an out of the way place. But few attended his meetings, and after one year's effort, he returned to Madison, where he had previously resided. C. Cravens subsequently made a feeble effort in the same direction, and failed. After I left, Mr. Foster returned, resumed his labors, and after preaching several years, resigned, when services were discontinued, and the meeting-house sold.

Henry Ward Beecher was pastor of one of the Presbyterian churches part of the time I resided in Indianapolis. Orthodoxy, evidently, did not trouble him then any more than it seems to now, and his hearers sometimes doubted his soundness on the "five points." He would occasionally, as now, preach politics; and his sharp thrusts often sent his Democratic church members headlong out of the house. I once asked him if he believed the Creator would eternally punish us for the sins of this brief life, and he evaded a direct answer.

There was another Presbyterian preacher in Indianapolis by the name of Gurley — a fossiled Calvinist. He and Beecher subscribed to the same creed, but in faith and spirit they were far apart as the poles. I attended his meeting once, and he aimed to give me a hard hit. "I will relate," said he, "how a noted Universalist died. Ethan Allen, a revolutionary soldier, was on his death bed. When well, he was loud in defense of Universalism. But when he came to die it failed him. His daughter asked him just before he breathed his last,

if she should cherish his faith or her mother's. "Believe as your mother believes," said the dying man. Met the parson the next day, told him Ethan Allen was not a Universalist, but an avowed Deist. "It is the same thing," said he. "If you think so, you need not be alarmed about your salvation, for all now admit children and idiots are safe." This is the same Gurley who figured several years in Washington as chaplain of Congress.

Soon after moving to Indianapolis, I had a discussion at New Philadelphia, in Southern Indiana. In going there, stopped over night at a little village; told the landlord of the inn I would speak to the people if he would give notice. As my host was a Methodist, the people inferred the preacher was of his faith. "The Lord is good unto all, and his tender mercies are over all his works," was my text; and I dwelt on the evidences of God's goodness in nature, providence, and the Bible. God is unchangeable, therefore he always will, in this world and in the world to come, through all time and through all eternity, be good unto all, and his tender mercies be over all his works. As God is *now* good to all, he *now* blesses all; and as he *always* will be good to all, he *always will* bless all mankind. I did not say all would be saved, only that God would ever bless mankind. I requested a man, who, I was told was a Methodist, to close the meeting. Before doing so he remarked, "My brethren, we have heard the gospel tonight in all its fullness. Glory to God for such truths. They are the bread of life. May we all feast on them and live forever." Another said, "I bless God for what we have heard this evening. I have been so near heaven, I have felt like taking the shoes from my feet. Bless God for the word of life." Spent the night with a

Methodist brother — he doubtless thought I was of his church. I practiced no deception — told the truth clearly, boldly. No one questioned me concerning my denominational relations, and I said nothing. Our spiritual nature is in harmony with truth and righteousness, and when the wisdom of heaven is unfolded, we intuitively respond thereto regardless of creeds, provided our prejudices are not aroused by offensive names, or by unpopular truths stated in too pointed terms. If I had told the people I was a Universalist, the whole discourse would have been pronounced heresy.

At another time, traveling on Sunday, I came to a meeting-house where a congregation were assembling, and took a seat in their midst. I knew no one, and, I supposed, no one knew me. The expected preacher did not appear, and some one arose to dismiss the assembly. I told the people I was a minister and would deliver a discourse if they so desired. All seemed gratified to hear a stranger, and I talked nearly two hours to about five hundred people. Pursued the same course I did on the other occasion — said nothing about other people's faith, called what I preached the gospel. Spent the rest of the day with a Presbyterian deacon, and he evidently did not suspect I was a heretic.

The discussion in New Philadelphia continued two days. My opponent was a Presbyterian minister. We had some skirmishing before the regular battle commenced. I delivered a discourse on Saturday evening; he replied. He spoke on Sunday morning; I replied in the afternoon. Monday and Tuesday we met face to face, and discussed six hours each day, when he retreated leaving me in possession of the field. The discussion caused much excitement, for the Liberal faith was

unknown to most of the people; tney had no idea any thing could be said in its favor. One man offered to bet his farm I would not make a second speech. A good church might have been established there, but no minister could be obtained.

The strife between the North and South, which ultimated in the late rebellion, disturbed our people in Indiana long before the war commenced. The contention though, was not about slavery, but grew out of the little antagonisms between people from those two sections of country. Southern and Central Indiana were settled chiefly by emigrants from the South, and unfortunately some of them cherished undue prejudice against Yankees. The Indiana State Convention would not join the United States Convention, because it was controlled by Northern people. Jonathan Kidwell, the prime mover in this opposition, was from Kentucky. In his younger days he was a Methodist minister; then a New Light; and finally became a Universalist. He possessed much intellectual power, was well read on many subjects, though not versed in the technicalities of knowledge. He had long resided in Indiana, and was well known. Some forty years ago, he had a discussion in Indianapolis with a Methodist clergyman, which was widely circulated, it being published by Mr. Kidwell. He had been one of the editors of the *Star in the West*, and while I resided in Indiana, published a monthly magazine, called the *Philomath Encyclopediæ.*

Soon after I settled in Lafayette, he commenced war on Eastern preachers, styling them "silk stocking gentry," sent West to enlighten the heathen. I was called "a conspirator," a "little bishop," "Texas ranger" etc. Many in the state were anxious to be connected with the Uni-

ted States Convention, but Mr. Kidwell and his friends always opposed such union. This difference disturbed the harmony of some of our associational and conventional meetings, and did much mischief generally. I was young, and doubtless indiscreet in some statements made in *The Teacher*, but Mr. K. was very coarse and abusive. The State Convention met in Terre Haute while I resided there, and one of Mr. Kidwell's friends reported that he had *fifty charges* against me, which he intended to lay before the council. When motion was made to adjourn, I stated what I had heard, and demanded a presentation of the charges threatened. This brought G. C. McCune, who turned out to be a worthless fellow and died a drunkard, to his feet, he being the head man in this business, when some one proposed the matter be left to six persons, each party choosing three, and their decision be final. Both parties consented. I selected my men, but the others did nothing. The year after, the Convention met in Dublin; one of Mr. K.'s friends proposed I be disfellowshiped as an *impostor*. I then came out with a long article in *The Teacher* about such treatment, and Mr. Kidwell made that article the basis of charges he presented to the Convention the next year — the *fifty alleged sins* were all laid aside. That year it met at Laconia, in the extreme southern part of Indiana. The "delegates" were packed for the occasion, and were chiefly from some dead societies in that portion of the state. As was expected, I was voted *guilty*. But that act killed the Convention. The White River, Wabash, and Upper Wabash Association, immediately withdrew from it, and in a few months a new Convention was organized in my house at Indianapolis, which soon joined the United States Convention. The old Convention met

once or twice after the new one was formed, then died. about the same time Mr. Kidwell departed this life, full of years; and soon after, his printing office, which was then run by E. M. Knapp, was destroyed by fire. After the new order of things was inaugurated, peace and harmony again reigned in our councils.

The liberal faith was making some progress in Central Illinois, and I was invited to visit that region and hold a discussion in Springfield with a Methodist clergyman. I had never been in that portion of the state, and it was a long journey from Indianapolis to Springfield, as there were no railroads then, as now, connecting those two capitals. In going, I stopped at Mt. Pulaski, Ill., and delivered several discourses. It is on a high mound, in the midst of vast prairies — a beautiful situation. Here I met, for the first time, D. P. Bunn, who resided in the place, and preached there and in the region all around. He still lives in a neighboring town, Decatur, and is yet faithfully discharging his ministerial duties. He is an excellent man, a faithful minister, and dear friend. He has labored long and hard in the moral vineyard, and God has blessed him and his labors. Mr. Bunn accompanied me to Springfield. Arriving there, I found the preacher who had agreed to debate, would not stand fire, and Mr. Lewis, the most noted controversalist in that section, was chosen his substitute. He was a Methodist minister of much ability, and very zealous in his cause. He had recently held a discussion with Mr. Bunn, and was pretty well posted concerning Universalism. We debated four days in the Representatives' Hall of the capitol, in the presence of large assemblies. The discussion caused much excitement in Springfield, and all parties attended. I remember seeing Mr. Lincoln there

punctually every day and every night. He often nodded assent when I made a strong point. Little did I think, or he, what was to be his future position in the world.

In my first speech, I offered some arguments for the restitution of all things drawn from the character of the Supreme Being. The Bible says, "God is Love;" and all God's works say, he is love.

"Could we with ink the ocean fill,
And were the skies of parchments made
Were every blade of grass a quill,
And every man a scribe by trade;
To write the love of God above
Would drain the ocean dry,
Nor could the scroll contain the whole
Though stretched from sky to sky."

As God is love, well might an apostle exclaim, "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other thing, shall separate us from the love of God, which is manifested in Christ Jesus our Lord." Rom. viii. 38, 39. Can love so broad, so deep, so high, so vast, so enduring, so mighty, consign countless millions of its creations to interminable agony? Can an ocean of love be the source of an ocean of everlasting woe? Can the best tree bear the worst fruit? Can the purest fountain emit the most deadly poison? As God is love, while man exists, he must be his friend, his benefactor, his savior. All creeds say God is love. The old Pagans extolled Jupiter, called him the great, the magnificent, the glorious Jupiter, but according to their mythology, he was a beastly monster. So modern theologists, say God is love, but they attribute to him passions and deeds the fabled devil of their creeds might envy. God is love, and all his purposes, and all his works perfectly harmonize with infinite love. Uni-

versal Blessedness is the sequence of the proposition — God is Love.

As God is love, he is Just — just in all his purposes, in all his works. Would it be just to force beings into existence, knowing that existence would be an endless curse? Force them into this world, force them through this world, force them into the grave, force them into eternity, force them into an endless hell! But that is the programme of heaven according to the creeds. Who can see any justice in such a scheme? The whole plan is black with crime, and reeking with vengeance. It will culminate in the ruin of the universe. The justice of heaven is universal right; it demands universal right, and will not be satisfied till all mankind are *right* — right in character, in condition, in life. Universal Salvation is the sequence of the proposition — God is Just.

God is Merciful. Mercy is only another manifestation of love, and leads to the same result. The Bible says much about the mercy of God — he is of "great mercy," "plenteous in mercy," "rich in mercy." His mercy is said to be universal — "his tender mercies are over all his works." His mercy is everlasting — "the mercy of the Lord endureth forever." The mercy of the Lord, then, is great, universal and everlasting. All are now, and all ever will be, the subjects of his mercy. Universal Blessedness, then, is the sequence of the proposition — God is Merciful.

God is Holy. Holiness is a characteristic of love. Holiness delights in holiness, in purity, in happiness. Good men are holy in a finite degree, and they pray, and plan, and labor, to extend holiness. God is holy in an infinite degree, and he purposes universal holiness. Will he then ever place any of us where we cannot be holy,

but must lie down in depravity, in corruption, in sin, forever and ever? Mr. Lewis affirms he will thus dispose of millions of mankind. But that is impossible, as God is a holy being. Here is a man, who, because his children are disobedient, digs a dungeon, chains them in its darkness, and feeds them on bread and water. But this is not enough. He enters that dungeon morning, noon and night, and beats them half to death. He continues this barbarous treatment for days, weeks, months, years, yea, as long as they live. Would you call that the work of holiness? But God, it is said, will deal infinitely worse than that inhuman wretch.

> "Far in the deep where darkness dwells,
> A land of horror and despair,
> Justice has built a dismal hell,
> And laid her store of vengeance there."

Into this infernal dungeon, we are told, the Creator will thrust countless millions of mankind, swing the door upon them, and there they must remain the helpless victims of every vile passion, not for a day, but for all eternity. All grace, mercy, love, withdrawn from them; deprived of all opportunity, of all power, all means to reform their lives, and doomed by the holy God to be unholy through the eternal ages. Say not, this is the work of holiness; say not, the holy God will do what would be so unholy, so diabolical. As long as God is holy he will seek the holiness of his creatures; and as he is infinitely and everlastingly holy, in all places and in all times, he will seek man's holiness and happiness. Universal Salvation is the sequence of the proposition — God is Holy.

I spoke on Sunday after the discussion closed, in the Hall, and the spacious room was crowded to its full ca-

pacity. Since then a church has been organized and a meeting-house built.

I journeyed to Alton, passing through Carlinville, Brighton, over the prairie where Girard and Virden now stand. There was nothing there then but wild prairie. From Alton I proceeded to Jerseyville, a small burg then, but now a beautiful town, and delivered my message. Thence to Exeter, Naples, and on to Macomb, through Rushville. In all these places I spoke to the people. In Macomb and Girard we now have churches and meeting-houses. Have often lectured in both places since that first visit. Had some talk in Macomb with a Presbyterian clergyman by the name of Chase.

C. "You do not believe in a hell; but it is as clearly revealed as heaven."

M. "You are mistaken. I believe in all the hell the Bible speaks of, and wicked men experience; but not in the hell of human creeds. God never revealed the latter; Paganism is its progenitor."

C. "You cannot prove that."

M. "I think I can. It is now generally admitted that the Old Testament does not reveal an endless hell. But from Moses to Christ the Pagans believed in it, hence the vain imaginations of men must have been the father and mother of it. Hesiod, a Pagan and a Greek poet, who lived eight hundred years before Christ, tells all about hell. He says, hell is so far from heaven, it would take a mass of iron eighteen days to fall from the latter to the former place. The gate of hell was supposed to be guarded by a dog having fifty heads, and to make escape impossible, the horrid place was surrounded by a river of fire, called Phlegethon. Virgil, another Heathen poet enlightens us concerning its horrors:

"'Here rolls the roaring, flaming tide of hell,
And thundering rocks the fiery torrent swell.'

"The punishment of hell is thus described by the same writer:

"'Here sits in bloody robes the Fury fell,
By night and day to watch the gates of hell.
Here you begin terrific groans to hear,
And sounding lashes rise upon the ear.
On every side the damned their fetters grate,
And curse, 'mid clanking chains, their wretched fate.'

"One sinner is bound to a wheel of fire on which he must revolve eternally. Another is tortured with endless hunger and thirst; he is in a lake of pure water up to his chin, with the most delicious fruit a few inches from him, but he cannot get a drop of water nor a particle of food into his mouth. Danaus' forty-nine daughters, for murdering their husbands, were doomed to fill a leaky tub with water drawn from a well with a sieve. Another victim of the gods was chained to a rock, and vultures fed on his heart and entrails, which grew as fast as devoured. Virgil also thus enlightens us concerning some of the tormentors of hell:

"'At hell's dread mouth a thousand monsters wait;—
Grief weeps, and *Vengeance* bellows in the gate,
Base *Want*, low *Fear* and *Famine's* lawless rage,
And pale *Disease*, and slow repining *Age*.
Fierce, formidable *Fiends* the portals keep,
With *Pain*, *Toil*, *Death*, and Death's half-brother, *Sleep*.
There Joys, embittered by *Remorse*, appear,
Daughter of *Guilt*; here storms destructive *War*.
Mad *Discord* there her snaky tresses tore;
Here stretched on iron beds the *Furies* roar;
And close by *Lerna's* hissing monster stands
Briareus dreadful with a hundred hands;
There stern *Geryon* raged; and all around
Fierce *Harpies* screamed, and direful *Gorgons* frowned.'

"This, sir, was the Pagan hell — believed in by Pagans, preached by Pagan priests, hundreds of years before Jesus Christ brought a future life to light.

Did he teach eternal woe? Then the gospel is Paganism — not the wisdom of God. But it is clear your hell was bred and born in Heathen darkness. You admit it is not in the Old Testament; that it was not the Jewish faith in the days of Moses and the prophets. But it was then part and parcel of Paganism, hence it is not of heaven, but the product of Pagan barbarity."

C. "Christians do not believe in the Pagan hell, but in the Christian hell; the Pagans corrupted the truth."

M. "The hell of modern creeds is as horrible as that of Paganism. I will give some choice extracts concerning your hell from Christian authors, for your consideration. Rev. Isaac Ambrose, an English divine, and a man of great talent, contends that the Heathen did not represent hell bad enough. Alluding to the Pagan poets just quoted, he says:

"'Let poets feign of Tantalus's tortures, Prometheus vultures, Ixion's wheels, and Charon's rowing; these are far short to express the pains that rage in hell. There plagues have no ease, cries no help, time has no end, place no redemption. It is the dark prison where the Tares [the damned] are chained, and the wicked bound in fetters of fire and darkness. Are there not wonderful engines, sharp and sure instruments of revenge? fiery brimstone, pitchy sulphur, red-hot chains, flaming whips, scorching darkness? Will you any more? The worm is immortal, cold intolerable, stench unendurable, fire unquenchable, darkness palpable. . . . What music affords the place but roaring and crying and howling? Cursing is their hymns, wailing their tunes, blasphemies their ditties, tears their notes, lamentations their songs, screeching their strains; these are their morning and evening songs. What mean these chains and whips, and

links and scourges? iron chains, whips of steel, fiery links, knotty scourges. Furies shake their bolts to frighten souls; the irons strike through their ears, and the hooked engines tear out their bowels, as if the torment of the damned were the delight of devils.

"'Oh, what a bed is this for delicate and dainty persons; no feathers, but fire; no friends, but furies; no ease, but fetters; no light, but smoke; no clock nor chimes to pass away the night, but timeless eternity. A fire intolerable; a fire burning, never dying! Oh, immortal pains! . . . What torment, what calamity can be compared to the shadow of this. The wicked shall be crowded together like brick in a fiery furnace. There is no servant to fan cold air on their tormented parts — not so much as the chink where the least puff of wind might enter to cool them.'

"An Orthodox poet waxes eloquent in describing the infernal regions:

> "'Pale phantoms, hideous spectres, shapes which scare
> The damned themselves, and terrify despair,
> Gorgons and harpies, and chimeras dire,
> And swarms of hissing serpents, hissing fire.'

"Dr. Trapp thus writes of the rivers of hell and their fiery tide:

> "'Fires spout in cataracts, or in furies flow
> In bubbling eddies roll the fiery tide,
> And sulphurous surges on each other ride."

"The Orthodox Pollock gives this idea of hell:

> "'Wide was the place
> And deep as wide, and ruinous as deep.
> Beneath, I saw a lake of burning fire,
> With tempest tost perpetually, and still
> The waves of fiery darkness 'gainst the rocks
> Of dark damnation broke, and music made
> Of melancholy sort, and over head,

And all around, wind warred with wind, storm howled
To storm, and lightning, forked lightning, crossed,
Of sullen wrath.'

"The Pagan account of hell is tame compared to the Orthodox representation of it. A Methodist elder, a short time since, in Lafayette, Ind., told his hearers, that hell was so hot, that a soul taken out of it and put into a red hot smelting furnace, would freeze to death in five minutes."

C. "I will not talk with you, for you are making sport of a very serious subject."

M. "I am merely relating the common view of hell, as preached all over the land."

C. "I do not believe in such a hell; neither do I preach it. The wicked will be banished from the presence of God, there to remain forever."

M. "Make hell mild as you please; put out all its fires, throw away all its brimstone, chains and pitchforks, and say, it is only a *condition* of sin, darkness, mental anguish, and moral death, and then it is awful beyond imagination. Fire, red hot wheels, boiling lead as means of torture give only a faint conception of the horrors of such a state, if it is to continue forever. As John Wesley said, 'What is gained if there is no material fire in hell, when *all admit*, that if there is no material fire there, there is *something worse*."

From Macomb I proceeded to Burlington, Iowa, thence to Iowa City. In the latter place we have an elegant meeting-house, built by the united effort of Rev. Miss Chapin and her parish. Some of our people are opposed to women being in the ministry, but those we have in the work are quite as successful as the best men. That is a pretty strong argument for the women! Their

success show they are qualified for the work. Miss Chapin, Miss Brown, Miss Le Clerc, Mrs. Hannaford and Mrs. Wilkes, are all doing a good work in our denomination.

Lectured in West Liberty, Tipton, Rochester, Muscatine, Washington, and Davenport. In Tipton our people have a meeting-house; B. F. Snook, till recently, was their pastor. Some five years since I delivered a discourse in Centerville, Iowa, Mr. Snook being present, and dissenting to what was said, replied. He was then an Adventist, advocating the annihilation of the wicked, and editor of a paper devoted to that cause. Before I left town we two agreed to hold an oral discussion, and then publish it in book form. He went to work posting himself for the debate, and the result was, he renounced the faith he proposed defending, and we had no discussion. He has proved himself worthy of our confidence, and is now Superintendent of our churches in Iowa, which almost amounts to being Bishop.

Returning home I stopped at Nauvoo, Ills., and lectured twice. This was three years after the "Mormon war," traces of which were still seen, for a few cannon balls were thrown into the town by the enraged anti-Mormons. The place was generally in a dilapidated condition, and many buildings were empty. Elder Platt, a Mormon leader, conducted me through the temple, for it was not burned till a few months thereafter. It was a fine edifice; the walls were limestone, but the inside was not entirely finished. In the basement was a large laver, supported by several wooden oxen, in which the converts were baptized. Smith began his career by pretending to dig some plates from a hill near Manchester, New York. It is now called "Bible Hill." I have

seen it — not the plates. Letters, or something else, were engraved on the plates in an unknown language called the "Reformed Egyptian." The *Book* of *Mormon* is this "Reformed Egyptian" in English. In reality, said *Book* is a *novel* by one Spaulding of Ohio, which Sidney Rigdon, a Disciple preacher, stole—he and Smith putting it in its present shape.

From Nauvoo I returned to Indianapolis by the most direct route. This was a long and laborious journey. Traveled about one thousand miles, and delivered forty discourses.

A short time before the new Convention was organized, I was in North Manchester, Northern Indiana, where a youth introduced himself as William J. Chaplin, and said he had walked fifteen miles to attend my meeting. He also stated he was studying theology, and intended to be a minister. I encouraged him in his purpose, and shortly afterwards he delivered his first sermon.

About this time I had an oral discussion with Benjamin Franklin on three subjects — The General Judgment — Universal Salvation — Endless Misery. We discussed each proposition six hours. The debate was published by both parties, and makes a book of three hundred and fifty-nine pages. It has had a wide circulation — five editions having been issued. Mr. Franklin is an influential minister, editor and author. He resides in Cincinnati, and publishes a large weekly religious paper in that city.

I also had a debate in Covington, Ind., with Mr. French, a Baptist clergyman, which continued four days. He was a pastor of the Baptist church in that place, and his people had immense confidence in his ability to de-

molish the better faith. But he labored under great disadvantage, as he could not extemporize; and how he wrote his speeches was a mystery to me — he must have worked hard during the intermissions. But his labor and wit did not save him. His friends were disappointed, and he soon after left Covington. The discussion was in the Baptist meeting-house, and very large congregations listened to the argument, *pro* and *con*.

Soon after this, I spent four days in discussion near Ladoga, Ind., with Mr. Russell, a Disciple minister. The neighborhood was chiefly of the preacher's faith; I put up with one of his brethren while the debate was progressing. They all treated me kindly, and we parted in friendship. Mr. R. now resides in Iowa, and is a noted man in his denomination.

At this time, in the midst of these arduous labors, I wrote and published the "One Hundred and Fifty Reasons for believing in the Salvation of Mankind," about twenty thousand copies of which have been distributed.

Alexander Hall, of Ohio, published a book, called, "Universalism Against Itself," which was extensively circulated in the West. He has since turned infidel, and says he wrote the book to please the Orthodox; he was probably an infidel when he wrote it. But his hypocrisy not then being known, I employed Dr. Jordan to answer it in *The Teacher*. His review occupied a portion of the paper for one year, and when finished was published in book form, making a volume of nearly four hundred pages. An edition of two thousand copies has been sold. It is a strong and vigorous work, and well answers the objections urged to the Universalist construction of the Bible.

I also published a little book of two hundred pages,

called "Truth *vs.* Error," composed of selections from some of our best writers, one thousand copies of which were distributed.

In 1848 commenced issuing the paper weekly, calling it the *Western Olive Branch.* Soon after, I unwisely moved it to Cincinnati, hoping it would have a more general circulation if issued from the "Queen City" of the West. But unfortunately, I had a partner, H. Torry, who proved to be a dead weight on my hands; and to throw him off I disposed of the paper to J. A. Gurley, and he connected it with the *Star in the West.* After this partnership of a few months, resulting thus disastrously, I returned to Indianapolis, and devoted all my time and attention to the ministry. When this transfer was made, the circulation of the *Olive Branch* was thirty-three hundred, and it had been published nearly nine years. I was sorry to give it up, but deemed it best to do so under the circumstances.

The succeeding eighteen months, I was from home most of the time, traveling in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan and Ohio, preaching wherever I could have a hearing. On horseback I went from Cincinnati to Lake Erie and back, five hundred miles. Lectured in Springfield, Dayton, Columbus, Upper Sandusky, and in many other places. I also journeyed West as far as St. Louis, and Northwest to Iowa City, one thousand miles, at least. Returning from the West in December, I came to the "Father of Waters," opposite Quincy. Had tried to cross at Keokuk, Alexandria, forty miles above, but the river being full of ice I failed. The ferryman opposite Quincy said the ferryboat could not run, and it was impossible to cross. I offered him five dollars to take me over; and after much hesitation,

said he would try. His little skiff was a frail craft to encounter so much ice; but we made the trip. The ferryman said he would not attempt to return till there was less ice for a hundred dollars.

CHAPTER XIV.

Having disposed of the paper, I resolved to move to St. Louis, and publish one in that city. Accordingly, in the fall of 1850, went to St. Louis, and issued the first number of a magazine of twenty-four pages, called the *Golden Era*. I proposed issuing it monthly, at one dollar per year. Returning to Indianapolis, I remained till the succeeding spring, and then left for the new home on the banks of the Mississippi. We, that is, Mrs. Manford, baby Mae, and self, with horses and carriage, proceeded to Crawfordsville, Ind., where we attended the annual meeting of the Upper Wabash Association. Dr. I. D. Williamson was present, and all were much edified with two or three excellent discourses by that gifted clergyman. Josiah Davis was then residing in Crawfordsville. For many years he was a prominent minister in the United Brethren church. But his faith having gradually enlarged, he was then an active and able minister of the Restitution. He now lives in Avon, Ill.

Proceeded to Dayton, and there spent four days in discussion with Mr. Russell — the man I had previously debated with near Ladoga. One of his propositions affirmed "The annihilation of the wicked." "Man," he said, "by nature is all mortal; and immortality will be conferred in the resurrection only on those who are regenerated in this world." He has since renounced what he then defended, and has written a book, proving

he was wrong. I combated this materialistic position thus:

As I read the Bible, man is a child of God, created in his image, and therefore an immortal being. "And God said, Let us make man in our *image* after our *likeness*. . . So God created man in his own *image*, in the *image* of God created he him." Gen. i. 26, 27. "In the day that God created man, in the *likeness* of God made he him." Gen. v. 1. "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the *image* of God made he man." Gen ix. 6. In the first book of the Bible, then, it is repeated four times, that man was created in the image of God. Some tell us that image was lost in Adam, and all his posterity have been created in the *image* of the *infernal*, but this is not the theology of the New Testament. The apostle Paul says, "Forasmuch as man IS the *image* and *glory* of God." 1 Cor. ii. 7. And another testifies to the same: "Therewith bless we God, even the Father; and therewith curse we men, which ARE *made* in the *similitude* (or image) of God." James iii. 9. We may, then, safely affirm, that mankind from the morning of creation to the present time, have been created in the *image* and *glory* of God. The fish of the sea, the fowls of the air, the beasts of the forest, are all created — but not in the image of God. Man only is thus distinguished.

The record cannot mean, that the *body* is in the image of God, for God is a spirit. The body rather is in the image of the *earthy*. "And as we have borne the *image* of the *earthy*." 1 Cor. xv. 49. But the body is not the all of man. There is a thinking, reasoning, willing, propelling power, within this physical organism. It is designated by various terms in the Bible — called a

"spirit," the "inward man," "the mind." It is doubtless this inward man that is created in the image and glory of God.

All the elements, laws, forces, of the physical universe are represented, imaged, in man's physical form, hence he is physically an epitome, microcosm of the outer universe. So, the *inward man*, the *spirit*, being in the image and glory of God, all the elements of the Great Spirit are represented, imaged, in man's spiritual organism, but in a finite degree. God is a spirit, an immortal spirit; a being of infinite wisdom, love and power. Man's spirit being in his image, and partaking of his glory, must possess all these qualities, but in a finite degree. He is a finite spirit; a spark from the central sun, and partakes of the immortality, wisdom, love and power of God.

The objector has said, "I know man has a body for I see it; but I do not see the spirit you talk about, and so cannot believe in its existence." Do you not see this lands you in Atheism? You cannot see God, therefore, according to your reasoning, there is no God. The apostle Paul did not reason in this unphilosophical manner. He said, "The things that are *seen* are *temporal*: the things that are *unseen* are *eternal*." The truth is, not only God and the spirit of man are invisible to our mortal vision, but all the forces of the universe are invisible. The laws of gravity, of repulsion, of cohesion, are all invisible; but they are at work in all things, from a pebble to the sun. We cannot see them, but we do see their mighty work. We cannot see electricity, but we behold it rend the mountain oak, and melt the hardest metal. We cannot see the atmosphere, but we behold it prostrate the forest, and dash to atoms the work of

man. We cannot see steam, but we see its effect -- it drives the heavy train on the iron track, and propels the giant ship across stormy seas against wind and tide. So, we see God only in his works, and there, we everywhere behold him.

> 'God hath a being, and that we may see
> In the fold of the flower, the leaf of the tree ;
> In the sun of the noonday, the star of the night,
> In the storm-cloud of darkness, the rainbow of light,
> In the waves of the ocean, the furrow of land,
> In the mountain of granite, the atom of sand ;
> Turn where we may, from the sky to the sod,
> Where can we gaze that we see not a God?'

We cannot see the spirit inhabiting this mortal body, but we behold its wonderful work. It builds up and controls the body; gives strength to the muscles, vigor to the hand, brightness to the eye, manliness to the form, and genius to the brain. It constructs our railroads, steamships, and executes all the works of art. It employs human bone and muscle; but they are only its servants; the indwelling spirit plans all, executes all. What the spirit is to the body, God is to the universe. I can as easily comprehend the Great Spirit as I can my own spirit. I can as easily understand how God is present in the whole universe, as I can understand how my spirit is present in the whole body. Take the spirit from the body, and the body dies. Take God from the universe, and the universe would die — become an immense corpse. When we know our spirit, we know God. When we know our body, we have the philosophy of the universe. Man, then, is godlike in his nature — is a spirit, has the attributes of a spirit, one of which is *immortality*. If God is immortal, man is, as he is in the image of God. I see no way to avoid this conclu-

sion, if the premise is admitted, and if we deny that, we discard the plain teachings of the Bible.

What has been said concerning man being in the divine image, is confirmed by the scriptural testimony, that God is the *Father* of mankind. "Have we not all one Father?" Mal. ii. 10. "For to us there is but one God the Father." 1 Cor. viii. 6. "One God and Father of all." Eph. iv. 6. Jesus instructs us to pray, "Our Father who art in heaven." "O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh." Num. xvi. 22. This is repeated (Num. xxvii. 16,) and the apostle Paul (Heb. xii. 9) quoting it substitutes "*Father* of spirits" for God of spirits. As God is the Father of mankind, we are his children, his offspring, hence the declaration, "Inasmuch as we are the offspring of God." Acts xvii. 29. Children always partake of the nature of their parents. As God is the "Father of spirits," we must partake of his spiritual nature — be immortal. This body is of mother-earth and partakes of earth's perishable nature; the spirit is of Father-God, and partakes of his immortal nature; and when death severs body and spirit, the earthy returns to the earth whence it came, and the spirit to God whence it came; and one is death, the other the resurrection.

If these premises are correct — if the spirit of man is in the image of God; if God is the "Father of spirits," it follows that man, with other rich endowments, is blessed with an immortal nature, and Mr. Russell's position, that man is *all* mortal is incorrect. This heaven-endowed spirit is often spoken of in the Bible. When man was created, it is said, God breathed upon him, and he became a "*living soul.*" We are also told he formeth the *spirit* of man within him; (Zech. xii. 1)

"the body without the *spirit* is dead." We read of "the *spirits* in prison." Jesus, on the cross, gave up his *spirit* to God, committed his *spirit* to God. When he appeared to his disciples they thought they saw a *spirit;* but he told them a *spirit* had neither flesh nor bones. We are informed the Sadducees believed in neither angels nor *spirits*, but the Pharisees believed in both; and when the latter heard the apostle Paul say, the risen Christ had appeared to him, they said, if a *spirit* had appeared to him they ought not to fight against God.

From all this testimony we learn that God is the Father of mankind, hence we partake of his nature — are created in his image; and as God is a spirit man is a spirit; as God is immortal man is immortal. Man's *moral character* may or may not be godlike, in the divine image. The Christian only is in God's *moral* image, partakes of the divine character; but it is of the *nature* of man I now speak, not his moral character. Children always are of the *nature* of their parents, but their *moral character* may be very different. So man, being the child of God, partakes of his divine nature, but his moral character may be ungodly. And it is heaven's purpose that man's nature shall unfold till his moral character be in harmony with the divine as his nature now is. Corrupt as may be man's moral character, he still retains the image and glory of God his Father in his soul, but in various degrees of distinctness. Some, by the great apostle, are compared to the sun, others to the moon and stars; and it is said the glory will grow "brighter and brighter to the perfect day."

From Dayton we proceeded to Joliet, Ill., about one hundred and forty miles distant. Recent heavy rains had swept away or damaged most of the bridges, and I had

to swim the horses across the streams, and repair the rickety bridges, to get my precious charge over the turbulent waters. We had some dangerous passes through the streams, and over the frail bridges I had repaired. In pulling the carriage over one bridge I came within a hair's breadth of being pushed into the creek, and the buggy falling on me. The flood of this year was not quite equal to the flood of 1844, spoken of in a previous chapter, but it probably did more damage as the country was more improved. When I reached Alton, some of its streets were navigable for skiffs, and the levee at St. Louis was all submerged. But after much hard traveling and toiling we made Joliet; and from thence I went to St. Louis alone, leaving Mrs. Manford to spend the summer with her sisters in Joliet and Lockport.

St. Louis at that time contained eighty thousand inhabitants, and was rapidly increasing in population, business and wealth. At the present time it contains three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, — an immense increase in twenty-two years. It is built on the west bank of the Mississippi river, eighteen miles below its junction with the Missouri. The ground on which this noble city stands, is high and rolling; its streets are well paved, and the buildings generally are of a substantial character, being mostly of brick. Its beautiful site, its central location, its sixteen thousand miles of river navigation, its railroads, extended or being extended, in all directions, the vast agricultural region of which it is the center, the immense mineral and coal fields at its door — these advantages all combined must ultimately make St. Louis one of the great cities of the world. What changes have been made in St. Louis and all this region since 1803, when Lewis, Clark and others, made their famous

expedition to the Rocky Mountains. St. Louis was then so insignificant that the government ordered the expedition to start from the mouth of a small creek twenty miles up the river from St. Louis.

Several spasmodic efforts had been made to establish a Universalist church in St. Louis. J. Libbey, G. T. Flanders and N. M. Gaylord had preached there; but for two or three years previous to my removal to St. Louis, all effort in that direction had been abandoned. I lectured in the city occasionally; a church was organized, and the next year G. S. Weaver, from Ohio, became its pastor.

An immense field was before me, a vast amount of labor to be performed, and I went to work with a resolute heart. In all Southern Illinois we had not a minister, a meeting-house, nor a church; and, of course, our friends were few and unknown. It was the same in the whole of Missouri, with one or two exceptions. In Troy we had a meeting-house, but the church was dead. In the southwest part of the state L. C. Marvin had labored some, but he was not then residing in Missouri.

Leaving Mrs. Manford in charge of the paper, in September I commenced a long and laborious journey through Missouri, among entire strangers, expecting to be absent three months. Crossed the Mississippi river at Alton, four miles above where the Missouri flows into it, to go to Cottleville, thirty miles distant, where was my first appointment. The rain poured down in torrents nearly the whole day, and to add to my troubles, I got lost in the woods and swamps at the junction of the two rivers. Regaining the road, I traveled till dark, and finding I could not reach Cottleville that night, made application at a dozen houses for lodging, but all said, "No;

we are full." The night being very dark, the rain falling fast, and the roads in a horrible condition and unknown to me, I resolved to go no farther. Stopped at a house and solicited a resting place till morning. "We have no room; they will keep you at the next house," some one hallooed.

"What are you in this country? — heathen? At ten or fifteen places I have been refused admittance, each telling your story—'They will keep you at the next house.' Whether you take me in or not, I shall go no farther till morning. I am wet, and cold, and tired. It is so dark I cannot see my horse, the road is nearly impassable, and I am a stranger in the country; I know no one, and no one knows me. If you will not shelter me in your house, I will sit in this carriage till morning, for I am determined to go no farther to-night."

"Oh, well," said he, "come in, come in; we will do the best we can for you."

Arrived at Cottleville the next morning, and spoke to the people in the evening. The day after, proceeded to Troy, and on the succeeding day delivered three discourses. Found a respectable number of friends, and obtained forty subscribers for the *Golden Era*. As elsewhere stated, N. Wadsworth resided and preached in Troy a year or two previous to his death, and I found many who blessed his memory for the beautiful truths he had taught. Have frequently spoken in this place since that first visit, and have there some highly esteemed friends. Mrs. Manford often retreated to Troy from the scorching sun of St. Louis.

Lectured in Prairieville, Louisville, and then proceeded to Ashley, where I spoke several times. There were four brothers, by the name of Hendricks, residing near

this village — all elderly men, of considerable wealth, and early settlers of the state. If all men were of the sterling worth of those brothers, there would be no need of "camp or court." It has been my sad duty to officiate at the funeral of two of those brothers, and the wife of one of the survivors. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord," and blessed are the living who make virtue their choice. Lectured in Bowling Green, then in Louisiana, a beautiful town on the Mississippi river. W. K. Kennedy, a noble man, and my steadfast friend, resided in this place. He served his country through the Great Rebellion, and soon after was murdered, as is supposed.

Preached in Frankfort; then in London. Soon as it became known I was to lecture in London, a man went post haste to Hannibal, nine miles distant, and brought out a preacher to reply. The moment I was through he opened on me pell mell, without regard to sense or syntax. He evidently believed thunder killed, not lightning. He knew nothing of the liberal faith, but thought he had perfect knowledge of it. In noticing his noisy harangue, I cut him right and left, and he very considerably "subsided." Drove to Hannibal and lectured four times. Have often preached in that place, and have some dear friends there. The Browns, the Westfalls, and others, I shall esteem as long as this heart beats. The latter have a charming home on the bluff overlooking the Mississippi river, embowered in trees, vines and shrubbery. All the fruits of this latitude grow to perfection and in wonderful profusion on their grounds. There are the apple, pear, cherry — the best varieties — plum, peach, grape, and berries of all kinds. It is, especially, a delightful summer home, and Mrs.

Manford frequently fled to it from the melting sun of St. Louis.

Lectured at Palmyra in the Court-house full of men — one woman only being present. A preacher had one or two questions to ask.

M. "State your questions and I will try to answer them."

P. "Are you from the East?"

M. "I have the honor of being a son of old Massachusetts."

P. "Are you an abolitionist?'

M. "Yes, sir; I believe in the abolition of the devil and all his works."

P. "That is not what I mean. Are you a political abolitionist?"

M. "I think every wrong in politics should be abolished, and finally will be."

P. "But are you for abolishing slavery in Missouri, and the Southern States?"

M. "I believe negro slavery to be wrong in morals and in politics, and a curse to the white man and the black man; but it being the law of the land, I do not propose doing anything unlawful against it. What is your object in questioning me in this public manner?"

P. "I wanted to know your sentiments."

M. "You have them on slavery; and now I will give them concerning yourself. My opinion of you is, that you are a meddlesome and officious fellow."

Although, probably, nearly all present were intensely pro-slavery, for Palmyra was always strong in that direction, they unanimously condemned the preacher for his impertinence, and treated me kindly. Journeyed to

Tully and lectured several times. Had the following conversation with a church member:

C. M. "You told us last evening, that the common theory of a judgment day, at the end of time, was a delusion. The Scriptures certainly teach what you were pleased to term a delusion."

M. "Do you think God judges in the earth?"

C. M. "I do. We are in his presence every moment of our earth-life, and he judges between the good and the bad — the righteous are exalted, the wicked debased. The Bible expressly says, 'There is a God who judgeth in the earth.'"

M. "Very good. You also suppose that at death we are sent to heaven or hell. Of course that is not done till we are judged. Civil tribunals do not hang a man and then judge him. He is judged first. The Divine Judge surely does not consign any to hell without a previous judgment. I have heard ministers of your faith at funerals tell the mourners, that the departed have gone to the bar of God to give an account of the deeds done in the body, and that justice will be meted to them. Do you believe we go at death to the bar of God?"

C. M. "That is a solemn truth, and we should have that judgment in all our thoughts from the cradle to the grave."

M. "You think, I suppose, there is to be a judgment day at the end of the world."

C. M. "I certainly do; and that is what I understood you to deny."

M. "According to your theology, God judges or will judge the world three times 1. All are judged in this world, you assert. 2. All are judged at death. 3. All will be judged at the end of the world. Here are three judg-

ments. The truth is, God judges us but *once*, and that is an everlasting judgment. His law is engrained in our immortal nature, and by that law we are judged every moment of our life. The good man is in harmony with himself, with the universe, and the heavens and the earth crown him with glory and honor. The wicked man is in disharmony with himself, with the universe, and suffers the sad result. And what is true now ever will be true — obedience ever will be heaven, disobedience hell. Instead, then, of three judgments there is *one*, and that is eternal. I believe, then, in an everlasting and universal judgment."

C. M. "I should like to hear a discourse on that kind of a judgment, for it is a new idea to me."

M. "Will give one this evening."

Traveled to Memphis, where I spoke six times. Delivered a discourse on the occasion of the death of C. S. Webber, who had departed this life about one year previous. He was from Ohio, and had labored in Missouri two years. The good cause lost an active and efficient laborer in his death. He was untiring in his efforts, and it was his delight to proclaim the unsearchable riches of heaven. At a subsequent visit to this place, a clergyman arose in the congregation, and propounded some thirty or forty questions, which he had written for the occasion, and desired me to answer them, which I did as I best could.

C. "You teach that punishment is designed to reform the sinner. What evidence have you that you are correct?"

M. "Every sorrow, every pain, resulting from transgression, is the voice of God telling the offender he has done wrong, that he has violated a law of the Creator, and is

on the open road to ruin, and urging him to retrace his steps. It is a thunderclap from the Almighty, reverberating through the soul and body of the transgressor, telling him of his prodigality, warning him to flee from the wrath to come, and begging him to return to truth and duty. Pain is as clearly and as certainly the voice of God condemning vice, and urging the offender to abandon the forbidden path, and walk in virtue's ways, as any word ever spoken by a living prophet. It is God speaking directly to man."

"Happiness also being the natural and sure result of virtue is the divine approbation of the Christian life It is the voice of God sanctioning virtue and encouraging the good man in righteousness. And this approbation of virtue, and condemnation of vice, is a revelation to man in all climes and ages. It is older than the written Bible, and is proclaimed to all the sons and daughters of earth. 'Day unto day uttereth speech and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech nor language, where their voice is not heard.'" Ps. xix. 2, 3.

"True, it is often silenced by the clamor of passion, disregarded by the ignorant, and unheeded by the thoughtless; but its testimony against all wrong, and for all right, has ever, more or less, curbed the passions of the vicious, and promoted righteousness. It has everywhere lessened vice and increased virtue, notwithstanding passion, ignorance, false philosophy, and false religion — flesh and the devil — have blasphemously called it delusion, irreligion, infidelity."

C. "You remarked in your first discourse, that there is an analogy between the earth and man. Is not that infidelity?"

M. "I can see no infidelity in it. It is not best to be

afraid of the truth. There is certainly a striking analogy between man's physical organism, and the earth of which it is a product. 1. The rock corresponds to the bones in the human frame. 2. The dust covering the rocky skeleton corresponds to the flesh spread over these bones. 3. The veins of water meandering through the earth answer to the purple currents coursing every part of the body. 4. The earth has internal fires; the body has internal heat. 5. The hair of the head, which is a vegetable, corresponds to the vegetable growth covering the earth. 6. The earth is even sometimes *sick*, like man, and is only relieved by vomiting forth its feverish contents. 7. The earth is surrounded by an atmosphere; philosophers tell us, that every man is enveloped in an atmosphere emanating from his body. 8. The earth was once in a ruder condition than it is now; man was once coarser, more brutal than at the present time. 9. Man had a beginning. 'In the beginning God made the heavens and the earth.' 10. This mortal body must die, be decomposed, return whence it came; will not this earth die, be decomposed, and return whence it came? The gentleman may call this infidelity if he pleases. He can then finish his chapter of folly by calling summer, winter; heat, cold; light, darkness; truth, error; virtue, vice; and God, satan."

A Presbyterian minister replied to one of my discourses; after answering his objections, I proceeded southward, and lectured in Sand Hill, Milford, Edina and Newark. Subsequently had an appointment to debate four days with a man in Newark. He was to try to sustain this proposition — "Universalism is no better than Infidelity." But it being impossible for me to reach there at the appointed time, the discussion did not

take place, and he could not be induced afterward to discuss that proposition. I delivered a series of discourses in Newark soon after this disappointment, and thus noticed the gentleman's proposition :

Mr. Matlock, I understand, when he was here to debate with me, told in what respect " Universalism is no better than infidelity." Universalism, he made out, agrees in one or two points with infidelity, therefore, he wisely concluded, the whole system is no better than infidelity. Let us see what Campbellism is according to this rule. Mormonism says, there is a God, and that he will torment millions of mankind eternally ; Campbellism says the same, therefore, Campbellism is no better than Mormonism. Paganism says there is a burning hell for the wicked ; Campbellism says there is a burning hell for the wicked, therefore, Campbellism is no better than Paganism. Catholicism teaches that the unbaptized are all lost ; Campbellism teaches the same, therefore, Campbellism is no better than Catholicism. Atheism says, man is mortal and must die ; Campbellism says the same, Campbellism, then, is no better than Atheism.

But no system can be farther from infidelity than Universalism. It is all aglow with wisdom, justice, mercy, goodness, holiness, truth and virtue. It teaches there is a God who rules in heaven and on earth ; that man is in his image, and in imitating him we derive our chief good ; and that we are destined to approximate his adorable perfections forever and ever. A person must have a dark and deformed mind, who brands that spiritual system — infidelity.

At another time, going from Newark to Millport, thirty miles, the rain poured down in torrents till I was

about half way through, when the wind suddenly veering northward, the thermometer fell in one hour to four degrees below zero. When a haven was reached I was encased in a coat of ice, and could not get out of the saddle without assistance. The next day rode thirty miles over the prairie in the face of a northwest wind, cold as Greenland, and preached at night. Near Newark resided Col. Glover, an old and highly respected citizen. While he lived I made his house my home when about Newark. The well known Samuel Glover of St. Louis is his son. Col. J. Glover, who distinguished himself in the late civil war, and now a member of Congress, is also his son.

From Newark I proceeded to Shelbyville, and spoke several times. Have often lectured there since. Thence to Paris, Middle Grove, Columbia, in all of which towns I held meetings. Lectured in Fayette, then crossed the Missouri river, one hundred and sixty miles from St. Louis, and preached in Booneville, a beautiful town on the bank of "Big Muddy," as the Missouri is often called. This is a mighty river. Its waters, from hundreds of fountains in the Rocky Mountains, after dashing through deep gorges, tumbling over vast precipices, and winding over the immense savannahs of the far west, all combine and make one of the largest rivers in the world. Although here a wide, deep, and rapid stream, it is nearly two thousand miles to where it plunges into the sea. The bluffs on each side, two or three hundred feet high, are about seven miles apart, showing what this river has been doing these many centuries. The clay and rock that once filled that vast channel, seven miles wide, three hundred feet deep, and thousands of miles long, have all been swept away in its

ceaseless and resistless tide — carried south to redeem Louisiana and Mississippi from old ocean's dominions.

About the finest country in the world is bordering on this wonderful river. On the north side from Sioux City, to where it runs into the Mississippi river, and on the south, through Nebraska, Kansas, to Jefferson City, the land is rolling, well timbered, and the soil rich, warm and deep. Tobacco, hemp, the cereals, the grasses, and all the fruits of the temperate climate, grow here in great abundance. Mighty cities will be built on the banks of this great river, a dense population will throng its shores, and civilization will here attain its highest degree of glory.

Journeyed to Georgetown, and lectured several times. A man replied, I rejoined. Proceeded to Calhoun and preached twice; thence to Clinton where I spoke three times. This was the limit of my journey south. I was in the southwest part of Missouri. The country was thinly settled, and the adherents of the liberal faith scarce. L. C. Marvin had resided near Booneville, and preached some in this region, but there was no organization, and little was known of our faith. He now lives in Clinton, but seldom preaches.

Traveled east to Warsaw, on the Osage river, and delivered my message. One preacher replied, another asked many questions, so I had about as much as I could attend to. The latter inquired, if we organize churches, build meeting-houses, and ordain ministers; and was much surprised when informed of the number of our churches, meeting-houses and ministers. "Do you profess to be Christians?" said he. When told we did, he added, "Well, I did not know that."

Proceeded to Jefferson City. Reached there about

dark, wet and cold, for it had rained all day. Stopped at a hotel, and inquired if there was an appointment for me? The landlord thought there was at the Court-house. Hastened to the place without supper, had no time to attend to that, and found the Court-house lighted, and seven or eight very respectable appearing men, in the large room. No more came, and I delivered a long discourse to that small crowd. When through, I mentioned the paper I was publishing in St. Louis, and every man present subscribed; and I found they were some of the notables of the state — the lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, treasurer of state, auditor of state, post-master of the town, and two lawyers.

The next day crossed the Missouri river, and rode to Fulton where I lectured, then to Danville. Here I met with opposition. On taking my seat in the Court-house, a man arose in the congregation, and wished me to take for my text, the parable of the Rich man and Lazarus. Spoke one hour on that subject, though I had rode all day on horseback. As soon as I was through, another wanted an explanation of the "lake of fire" and "second death." I accommodated him, when a third one replied to what I had said on both passages. Spoke another hour and was glad to rest. Rode next day to Warrenton, thirty miles, and, by request, told the people all I knew about the *devil.* One man in the house seemed to think I had not done that noted character justice, and so added what I omitted concerning his being, history, works, character and future prospects. He made him out to be a very powerful being, more than a match for the Almighty, and the author of all the sin and woe of this world. I asked the preacher, whence the devil derived his power to do so much mischief? Also,

why God did not kill the devil if he was such an enemy to him, and he said those were infidel questions. Told him he was like the negro preacher. "My brethren," said he, "when de fust man, Adam, was made, he was made of wet clay, and set up agin de palin's to dry." "Do you say," said one of his hearers, "dat Adam was made of wet clay, an' set up agin the palin's to dry?" "Yes, sar, I do." "Who made de palin's?" "Sit down, sar," said the preacher, sternly, "such questions as dat would upset any system of theology."

Told the people I had not a particle of faith in the devil of the Methodist creed, for the gentleman was of that order. It represents him as a god — the god of hell — and the good book does not require faith in such a god. But there are devils many, that have a real existence. Every evil thought, purpose, passion; every error, and every wicked act, is a devil, for each and all of them are enemies to our peace, happiness and prosperity. Let us aim to exterminate those real devils that beset us, and not expend our strength in fighting imaginary ones. This would be dealing with devils to a good purpose.

After riding two more days I reached home. Had been absent three months, delivered eighty-four discourses, and rode about eight hundred miles chiefly on horseback. Was well pleased with my journey, for I had made many acquaintances, and obtained a large number of subscribers for the paper. Mrs. Manford issued the October and November numbers of the journal in my absence.

CHAPTER XV.

The second volume of the *Golden Era* was issued semi-monthly, and changed to a quarto form. Its circulation rapidly increased; but I found it rather difficult to pay expenses, for St. Louis was, and still is, a very dear place in which to live or do business. Labor, and paper, commanded high prices, and living expenses were about double they were in Indianapolis. If the people with whom I labored had not liberally compensated me, I could not have kept square with the world. But I found them hospitable, generous and liberal; and shall ever remember with gratitude their many generous deeds. We often canvassed the slavery question, but in the kindest spirit, and some of my best friends were extensive slave holders. Many good people suppose every slave holder was a semi-savage. Some of the best people I ever knew owned slaves. They supposed slavery to be the normal condition of the black man — that God made the negro to serve the white man. They were educated to regard slavery in that light. Their churches, their pastors, their school teachers, so taught them. Slavery, then, was not wrong, but according to the laws of God. But slavery is now dead, and but few regret it. Although in their estimation slavery was right enough, it was unprofitable, perplexing, and a bone of contention

in the nation, and they are glad the cause of so much strife is no more. If slavery could be restored in Missouri to-day by the vote of the people, not one in twenty would vote — restore it.

During my second year in St. Louis, I traveled in Southern Missouri, Southern Illinois, and Southern Indiana. Lectured in Potosi, forty miles south of St. Louis. A clergyman replied in a very angry tone. I had said, if everlasting damnation is a fact in God's universe, all nature would utter cries of woe. This remark offended him. I repeated, if nine-tenths of mankind are to howl eternally in hell,

> "The woods would begin and tell it to the doleful winds,
> And doleful winds, wail to the howling hills;
> And howling hills, mourn to the dismal vales;
> And dismal vales, sigh to the sorrowing brooks;
> And sorrowing brooks, weep to the weeping streams;
> And weeping streams, awake the groaning deep.
> The heavens, great archway of the universe,
> Would put sackcloth on; and Ocean, clothe herself
> In garb of widowhood, and gather all
> Her waves into a groan, and utter it,
> *Long, loud, deep, piercing, dolorous, immense.*"

But instead of this universal wail of woe, all nature is praising God for his goodness to the children of men. Oh, what mockery all this would be, if cries of agony, and wails of despair are to ascend forever from beings ordained to praise their Creator! I cannot subscribe to such a creed if I would, and would not if I could.

Journeyed to Iron Mountain, and lectured once. Here is the far famed Iron Mountain, three hundred and twenty-eight feet high, and at its base covers an area of five hundred acres. How far downward the ore extends is not known, but an artesian well, one hundred and fifty feet deep, at the base of the hill, does not reach the limits of the iron. Its average yield in the furnace is

fifty-six per cent. Near the surface the ore is found in pebbles or lumps, varying in size. Below, it becomes more compact and massive.

Six miles south, are other deposits of iron ore, not less rich, and, in all probability, not less extensive. Pilot Knob is five hundred and eighty-one feet high, with a base of three hundred and sixty acres. Sixty per cent. of this ore is iron. One mile from Pilot Knob is Shepherd Mountain, six hundred and sixty feet high, and covers eight hundred acres. This hill is penetrated with veins or dykes of iron ore, running in different directions. The ores obtained therefrom, are the magnetic, the specular, and a mixture of the two, and yield about sixty per cent. of iron. There are known to be other very valuable deposits of iron ore in this vicinity; and likely there are many others not yet discovered in the adjacent hills. There are also rich deposits of lead and zinc in different localities in Southern Missouri. Vast deposits of coal are likewise found in nearly all parts of the state. The truth is, Missouri, in mineral wealth, exceeds any other state in the Union; and the day will surely come when her immense resources will be developed.

Passed on to Millersville, where I found a large settlement of Dunkers, who were gradually emerging into Universalism. Soon after my visit they dissolved connection with that sect. They migrated from North Carolina when Missouri belonged to Spain. A brother by the name of Hendricks preached with them till he died; then another brother of the settlement, J. H. Miller, was set apart for the ministry, and he dying, A. Miller occupies his place as teacher. They do not go abroad for ministers, but select one of their number for

the ministerial office; he officiates till he is called home, and then another is chosen from the community as his successor. This, probably, was the apostolic method; and these excellent people, in Christian virtues, and in simplicity of manners, come as near the original Christians as any since the first century of the Dispensation of Grace. When the rebellion raged in the land, to a man and woman, they were true to their country; and being in a very exposed position, suffered sorely. I was in the neighborhood several times during the war; and at one time some rebels threatened to hang me, but they were told if a hair of my head was hurt, a hundred men would instantly shoulder their muskets, and rid the settlement of rebels forever.

Crossed the Mississippi river at Cape Girardeau, one hundred and fifty miles below St. Louis, and traveled through Southern Illinois to Mt. Vernon, Ind., on the Ohio river. Was one week between those points, and lectured ten times. Found but few who knew anything about the doctrine of the Restitution, and could not learn that a discourse had ever been delivered in its defense in all that region. Of course I was the worst kind of a heretic; but large numbers attended my meetings, and I made some friends. Robert Dale Owen was present at one of them, and expressed himself favorably.

At Elizabethtown a lawyer wished to know the *philosophy* of Christ being the Savior of the world. I replied: Jesus Christ was a man, a mere man, nothing but a man. But what is a MAN? He is the last, the best, the crowning work of God — the ultimate of the universe, made in the "*image* and *glory of God.*" Jesus is called in the Bible, "*The man*, Christ Jesus." He was *the man* of men, a *perfect* man, fully developed in all his spiritual

faculties — *head* and *shoulders* above his brothers. Go into a corn-field, and you will find one ear larger than any other ear; it is only though an ear of corn. Go to the forest, and you will find one tree larger than any other tree; it is only though a tree. So, Christ was a man, but the largest man, spiritually, that ever lived; and that *fact* makes him our Teacher, our Savior. He cannot be otherwise. We cannot teach him; he must teach us. He is our heaven-appointed teacher, and all his words, and all his works, were the natural result of his spiritual pre-eminence. If this be correct, his divine mission is based in nature, is based on the throne of God, and the gates of hell can not prevail against it. He will continue his work till all are taught, all are enlightened, all are saved. Greece and Rome had their wise men; but who of the best taught and lived like Jesus? "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself; bless and curse not; return good for evil; do by others as you would have others do by you." He not only taught this, but his works, his character, his soul, his life, were in perfect harmony with such wisdom. He was godlike, thought God's thoughts, spoke God's words, and did God's works. Heaven and earth will ever proclaim him —"THE SAVIOR OF MANKIND."

Delivered several discourses in Mt. Vernon, a pleasant town on the Ohio river, then proceeded to Evansville. Here a preacher replied in an abusive style, and I paid but little attention to him. This offended the gentleman, and he dared me to a discussion. I refused having anything to do with him, as Christ had said, "Cast not your pearl before swine."

Returned to St. Louis through Booneville, Vincennes,

Lawrenceville, Olney, Salem, Carlyle, and lectured in all those places.

About this time I had a discussion in Carlyle, Ill., with Mr. Stafford, a Presbyterian clergyman. It was to continue four days, but he brought it to a close at the end of the second day by going home, as he said, to find an unruly *calf* that had jumped out of the lot. Cannot say whether he found the calf — did not return to report. He knew nothing of the liberal faith, save what he had gleaned from its enemies, hence poorly prepared to meet the arguments in its favor.

He charged our people with denying the Bible. I replied: We do not deny the Bible. We believe it contains a record of God's revelation to man. We do not say that every book, chapter, verse and letter, from Genesis to Revelation, are inspired. The Bible makes no such pretension. Considerable part of the Old and New Testaments is *historical;* and intelligent and well informed men, can write history correctly without inspiation, especially if they are eye-witnesses of what they relate. Jesus Christ, "the author and finisher of our faith," was guided and illuminated by the Holy Spirit. His soul was in harmony with the Great Soul of the universe, hence he said, "I and my Father are one," "He who hath seen the Son hath seen the Father also." Truth, from the Fountain of truth, flowed into his soul as naturally as water flows into a sponge; hence to do his Father's will was his meat and drink; hence the wisdom he uttered was the wisdom of God. He is, then, the Way, the Truth, the Life — the Teacher and Savior of man. He is a medium through which God speaks to, and blesses the world. Moses, the prophets, the apostles, were also divinely illuminated, but not in the same *degree*

Jesus was, for he was blessed with the spirit "without measure." Jesus is the central figure among those anointed men. He was "in the form of God," in the "express image of his person," by nature and by character. He is a sun, they are stars. You may call this denying the Bible, but it is affirming it.

He found fault with our name — Universalist — said it is not scriptural. I remarked, True, the word is not in the Bible; but the idea often occurs. 1. God is the universal Father — "have we not all one Father?" 2. He is the universal Savior — "the Savior of all men." 3. Jesus is a universal Savior — "the Father sent the Son to be the Savior of the world." 4. God's will is for universal salvation — "who will have all men to be saved." 5. God's grace brings universal salvation — "for the grace of God bringeth salvation to all men." 6 There will be a universal ingathering into Christ — "Gather together all things in Christ." 7. There is to be a universal deliverance from earthly corruption, "the creation shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God." 8. Universal righteousness will finally prevail.— "by the obedience of one shall many — the mass — be made righteous." 9. Universal reconciliation shall finally be effected — "God is in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." 10. There shall come a period of universal praise to God, and confession to God's glory. Phil. ii.; Rev. v. 11. There will be a universal blessing of the nations, families and kindreds — "all nations, families and kindreds of the earth shall be blessed." 12. There is to be a universal resurrection to a heavenly condition — "in Christ shall all be made alive."

There is propriety, then, in the name. The Armini-

ans were once called Universalists, because they believed in a universal atonement. We believe in a universal atonement, and in the universal *efficacy* of that atonement. In Europe, very learned men, men who master all the sciences, are called Universalists. It is an honorable name, then, a learned name, an appropriate name for those who recognize God as the Universal Father and Savior, and Christ as a Universal Redeemer, and who rejoice in the hope of the Universal destruction of sin, suffering and death, and the Universal reign of truth, virtue, life and salvation. Universal means catholic. Our church, then, is the true Catholic church — all of Adam's race will finally be members of it. What is called the Catholic church is a very partial church. It is the *Roman* Catholic church, not Christ, Catholic or Universal Church. Notwithstanding the propriety of our name, I seldom use it — it is a little too sectarian for my taste. Some of my brethren are so in love with it, they hitch it to almost every thing. That may be all right; but I am not so deeply in love with the name as some seem to be. I had rather be called a godly man than a Universalist, whether I deserve the appellation or not; and I had rather hear my church called "the Church of Christ" than Universalist church.

Returning to St. Louis, I lectured in Lebanon, and a man said the sentiments I advocated lead through Deism to Atheism. Never, I replied was a man more mistaken. The leading, the gradation, is the other way.

Universalism says, A God for *all*, a Savior for *all*.
Orthodoxy says, A God for *all*, a Savior for *part*.
Deism says a God for *all*, a Savior for *none*.
Atheism says, A God for *none*, a Savior for *none*.

Orthodoxy, then, is the first step *down*; Deism the second; and Atheism the third — ALL, PART, NONE.

According to request I visited Florence, up the Illinois river about one hundred miles, to hear a discourse against Universal Salvation, and reply if it should be deemed proper. Arrived by packet on Sunday at eleven o'clock, soon after the preacher had commenced his sermon. He spoke *three hours*, and made out, he supposed, a strong case. After one hour's intermission, I replied, which occupied nearly three hours. The preacher, and his congregation heard me through; and at candle lighting, I delivered another discourse in the same place. In addition to answering the gentleman's discourse I offered twenty-five objections to endless misery, and twenty-five objections to his view of a great judgment day; gave twenty-five proofs and arguments, that virtue and vice are rewarded in this world; furnished twenty-five reasons from Scripture for believing in the final salvation of mankind.

A few days after this, I lectured in Naples, Ill.; and while the congregation were singing the second hymn, a Methodist preacher, with a low bow and smiling face, passed me a small pamphlet. It seems that many years ago, immediately after Hosea Ballou had delivered a discourse in some town in Vermont, Lemuel Haynes, a Congregationalist clergyman, a gentleman of color, and pastor of a white congregation, and of considerable education, ability, and much wit, arose and preached a sermon from the words of the serpent to mother Eve, "Ye shall not surely die." The thing was afterwards published and scattered far and near. The pamphlet was said sermon of said Haynes. The serpent is represented as a Universalist preacher; his words, "Ye shall not sure-

ly die," the essence of Universalism. Being in a humor for it, I took parson Haynes' text for my text that evening, followed his arrangement, adopted some of his language and put the "boot on the right foot." Spoke as follows:

The Holy Scriptures are a peculiar fund of instruction. They inform us of the origin of creation; of the primitive state of man — his ignorance, folly and degradation. It appears he was placed in the garden of Eden with full liberty to regale himself with all the delicious fruits therein, save what grew on one tree; if he ate of that HE SHOULD SURELY DIE ON THE DAY OF TRANSGRESSION, (Gen. ii:17,) was the declaration of the Almighty. Mark the language — he was not to be punished in the *next world*, but in *this world*, and on the *day*, at the very *time*, he sinned. Let this be remembered, for it is God's truth.

Happy were the human pair amid this delightful paradise, until a certain preacher endeavored to convince them that they could sin without suffering IMMEDIATE punishment, without being punished on the DAY of transgression.

We may attend to the *character* of the preacher; to the *doctrine* inculcated; to the *hearers* addressed; to the *mediums* or *instruments* of the preaching.

I. As to the PREACHER, I would observe, he is said to be the lust of the flesh. "Let no one say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God, but man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own *lust* and enticed." James i. 13, 14. He is also called the *carnal* mind, and that is ever at *enmity* against God. Read the seventh and eighth chapters of Romans carefully. In Genesis, lust — the carnal mind — is personified and called a

serpent, and in other parts of the Bible termed satan, devil, adversary, for those terms mean a deceiver, an opposer, and that is the character of the tempter in the human breast. This was the tempter that led the first pair astray.

But to be a little more particular, let it be observed,

1. He is an *old* preacher. He lived about one thousand seven hundred years before Abraham — about two thousand four hundred and thirty years before Moses — four thousand and four years before Christ. It is now five thousand eight hundred and fifty-four years since he commenced preaching. By this time he must have acquired great skill in the art.

2. He is a very *cunning*, artful preacher. The serpent, his prototype, is said to possess much wisdom and cunning. When Elymus, the sorcerer, came to turn away the people from the faith, he is said to be *full of all subtlety*, not only because he was an enemy of all righteousness, but on account of his cunning and craftiness. He manifests his cunning by preaching to the world, that they shall not surely be punished on the DAY of transgression. That is a very pleasing doctrine to the wicked. They love to be told that the day of retribution is FAR IN THE DISTANCE, especially as that future punishment can all be escaped by taking the benefit of a spiritual bankruptcy, any hour before they die. Yes, he is a cunning preacher.

3. He is a very *laborious*, unwearied preacher. He has been in the ministry almost six thousand years, and yet his zeal is not in the least abated. The apostle Peter compares him to a roaring lion, roaming about seeking whom he may devour. He is far from being circumscribed within the narrow limits of parish state or

continental lines; but his haunts and travels are very large and extensive. Wherever the doctrine prevails that the wicked are not punished WHEN and WHERE they sin, the tempter is preaching the same sermon he preached to mother Eve.

4. He is a *heterogeneous* preacher, if I may so express myself. He mixes truth with error, in order to make it go well, or to carry his point. Nobody would bite at his hook if there was no truth on it. He quotes fluently from the Bible, but then we must receive his *interpretation.* If we dissent, all hell is in an uproar, and we must be kicked out of his church, and out of the world, if possible. Thousands have been burned at the stake, because they would not receive his interpretation of the Bible. He admits we have reason, but then it is *carnal* and not to be trusted; we must believe without the reason why. He admits there is one God, but there are three persons in the Godhead; that is, one makes three and three one. That is his arithmetic. Christ is the son of God, and at the same time the Father; God is infinite in wisdom, power and goodness, but Christ came to reconcile him to us; God *wishes* to save all mankind but *cannot;* God *can* save all mankind, but *wishes* to damn some to glorify his justice; God's *justice* requires the endless damnation of all men, but his mercy pleads for the salvation of all, and yet God's attributes all harmonize. Men are born *totally depraved,* and utterly incapable of doing anything acceptable to God, yet it is the duty of men to repent and turn to God; Christ has made an atonement for the sins of the whole world, but half of the world will be damned eternally for their sins; God is a universal Father, God is love, and yet will mock and laugh at the eternal groans and pains of

his children; heaven is the perfection of love, but the saints will shout glory, when they see their fathers, and mothers, and children damned. Yes, he preaches truth as well as error.

5. He is a very *presumptuous* preacher. Notwithstanding God had declared on one occasion, in the most plain and positive manner, "On the DAY thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," yet this audacious wretch had the impudence to confront Omnipotence and say, "ye shall not surely die" — on the DAY of transgression — and he is still repeating the old sermon through the length and breadth of the land.

6. He is a very *successful* preacher. He draws a great number after him. No preacher can command hearers like him. He was successful with our first parents — with the old world. Noah once preached to the world that the judgments of heaven would *shortly* come on wicked men, but the tempter repeated his old sermon, and he made more converts than Noah. So it was with the cities of the plains. Lot preached to them; the substance of which was, "Up, get out of this *place:* for the Lord will destroy this *city.*" Gen. xix. 14. But the old declaimer told them no danger, no danger; God will not punish men in *this world*, and therefore will not destroy this city, to which they generally gave heed, and Lot seemed as one who mocked. They believed the Orthodox preacher, and were consumed. The father of lies is indeed a very successful preacher. He not only made converts of Adam and Eve, the Antediluvians and Sodomites, but he has proselyted most of the world. Nearly all mankind contend that God's judgments are not in the earth. Dr. Franklin was about right when

he said a lie would travel all over the country, while truth was putting on his boots.

II. Let us attend still more to the DOCTRINE inculcated by this preacher. Ye shall not surely die on the day of transgression. Bold assertion, without a single argument to support it. The death threatened, was, doubtless, *moral* death. They did die to their former innocence, to the sweet communion which they had before enjoyed with the Father, to all the enjoyments of their beautiful garden of fruits and flowers. The Bible says, "To be carnally minded is *death;*" it is termed a "death in trespasses and sins;" "The wages of sin is death;" "You hath he quickened who *were dead;*" "We know we have passed *from death* unto life." This is the death threatened, and the Almighty assured Adam that he would suffer it on the VERY DAY he sinned. But the preacher said, No, all is false, there is no punishment in this world, no hell, the wages of sin is not surely death. There is a big IF between sin and its penalty.

III. We will now take notice of the hearers addressed by this preacher. This we have in the context. And the serpent said unto the woman, "Ye shall not surely die." That Eve had not so much experience as Adam is evident; and so she was not equally able to withstand temptation. This was doubtless the reason why the tempter chose her, with whom he might hope to be successful. Probably he took the time when she was separated from her husband.

That this preacher has always had the greatest success in the dark and ignorant parts of the earth, is evident; his kingdom is a kingdom of darkness. He is a great enemy of light. He will not permit his disciples

to hear a religious or philosophical discourse, read a religious or philosophical book or paper, that contradicts his creed — they must be like the old knight, read only one side of the guide-board, and if they happen to get an idea the old creed don't sanction, they are called heretics. They may think, but not out of a given circle; they may reason, provided they reason as the preacher does. And the consequence is, that where the people think, reason and read *least*, Orthodoxy has its truest adherents, and where the people think, reason and read *most*, the doctrine of Holy Writ is most prevalent, "Behold the righteous shall be recompensed in the earth, much more the wicked and the sinner." Prov. xi. 31.

IV. The instruments or mediums made use of by the preacher, will now be considered. Every person, creed and institution, that propagates the doctrine that men shall not surely die on the *day of transgression*, is an instrument of the father of lies.

1. Calvinism, Arminianism, Mormonism, Catholicism, Mahommedanism and Heathenism, tell us that this world is not one of retribution, that God does not here reward virtue or punish vice. They unite in teaching that this life is a state of probation, of trial; and of course no one is punished till his probation ends, his trial is closed. This is the deceiver's first sermon gone to seed.

2. The preachers of all these isms are also his instruments. They are faithful to their father's cause, and he is much attached to them. If one opposes their creed, some of them will at once exhibit the spirit of the devil.

INFERENCES.

1. That the devil is not dead, but still lives, and is able to preach as well as ever, "Ye shall not die on the day of transgression."

2. Orthodoxy is no new fangled scheme, but can boast of great antiquity.

3. See a reason why it ought to be rejected because it is an ancient devilish doctrine.

4. See a reason why satan is such a mortal enemy to the promises of the Bible, for it says, "Christ came to destroy the devil." Heb. ii. "Will make an end of sin." Dan. ix. "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world."

5. He hates the gospel, because it is "good news, glad tidings;" is the "glorious gospel of the blessed God;" "gospel of the grace of God;" "gospel of our salvation;" "gospel of peace."

6. He hates the true Christ, because he will save the world from sin, error, and death. "We have seen and do testify that this is the Christ the SAVIOR of the WORLD." When the world shall be saved, satan's occupation will be gone.

7. See whence it was that satan exerted himself so much to convince our first parents there was no punishment in this world, because the denunciation of the Almighty was true, and he was afraid that Adam and Eve would continue in the belief of it, and so not believe in endless punishment in eternity — his favorite doctrine. If there was no proof of present punishment, satan would not be so busy in trying to convince men that there was none.

8. We infer that ministers should not be proud of their preaching. If they preach the true gospel, they only in substance preach Christ's sermons. If they preach, "Ye shall not surely die on the day of trans-

gression," they only make use of the devil's old notes that he delivered about six thousand years ago.

9. It is probable that Orthodoxy will still prevail, since this preacher is still alive, and not in the least superannuated; and every effort against him only enrages him more and more, and excites him to new inventions and exertions to build up his cause.

To close the subject. As the author of this discourse has spoken of the character of satan, he trusts no one will feel himself personally injured by this short sermon. But should any imbibe a degree of friendship for this aged deceiver, and think that I have not treated this Orthodox preacher with that respect and veneration he justly deserves, let them be so kind as to point it out, and I will most cheerfully retract; for it has been a maxim with me, "RENDER UNTO ALL THEIR DUE."

This was too much for the three preachers present, so they left in a hurry, when I reached the "inferences." As they were marching out, I remarked, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." They intended an insult by throwing that tract in my face; but the new dress in which I returned it kindled their ire; and leaving the house as they did, was an acknowledgement, they were defeated. The congregation fully appreciated the "situation," and two or three zealous hearers clapped their hands as the preachers were departing.

I preached in the Methodist meeting-house in Jerseyville at the request of Mr. Lewis, my Springfield opponent. He being present, was told to be free in making any strictures on my discourse he might see proper. "Oh, no," said he, "criticism would be improper as you will be in my pulpit by invitation." In my sermon, I said nothing about other creeds, but presented my own faith

forcibly as possible. Mr. Lewis, at my request, made the closing prayer, and such a prayer! He took up my discourse, item by item, systematically, and replied to it. He first told the Lord what the speaker had said on a given point, and then, "O Lord, thou knowest that is not true, for, by the mouth of thy holy prophet Isaiah, thou hast said" — and then he quoted from the Bible. After arguing that point to his satisfaction, he took up another subject; and so on through with my discourse. Having finished his reply, I told the congregation I did not like that way of debating; but he said, "I would as soon debate on my *knees* as on my feet." Before I left town, we made arrangements for a written discussion in the *Golden Era*. He was to write twelve letters; but having written six, he sickened and died. Called on him during his sickness, at Jacksonville. "Brother Manford," said he, "if I do not go to heaven this time, I will not work as I have done. I am broken down by hard labor — by trying to save souls."

Soon after this, Mr. Mahan, a Methodist clergyman of Indiana, proposed a written discussion in the *Golden Era*. He agreed to write twelve letters; six, however, exhausted his resources.

I made a long journey through Northern Missouri into Iowa; thence to St. Joseph; down to Weston, Kansas City, Independence, Lexington, Booneville, back to St. Louis. Traveled twelve hundred miles, all on horseback, and lectured most every day. In most of the towns and villages on this route I had no references, and generally made the appointments through the postmasters. The liberal faith was entirely new to most of the people, and as notices of my meetings were extensively published, large numbers attended, some travel-

ing ten, twenty, and thirty miles. Had much controversy in private, concerning the new doctrine. Found some who received it with glad hearts and others disposed to see if these things were so. Received no compensation for my labor and time, but obtained many subscribers for the paper.

Have room for only a few of the incidents of this journey. In Kirksville, Mo., a minister asked many questions; finally came to the sage conclusion, that reason is carnal, I was an emissary of satan, and he would say no more to me; but gave notice, he should reply to my discourse the next Sunday. In Greentop, found a settlement of believers from Tennessee. They were excellent people; often visited them in subsequent years; but the war dispersed them, and they are scattered here and there over the country. Kirksville, near by, was one of the battle-fields of the rebellion. Rebel Porter's forces were there routed, ruined, and the town much injured, but has since recovered. Some years after, had a discussion here with John S. Sweeney. Major Linder of that place, one of my friends, was an active man in the Union cause. Traveled on what was called the "Mormon Trace"—a road from Nauvoo to St. Joseph, the route the Mormons journeyed from Nauvoo to Salt Lake It was generally through a wild region, but the face of the country was rolling and pleasant. About sundown one day, I inquired at a cabin, the distance to the next house.

"Ten miles."

"Will you keep me to-night?"

"I reckon so; the old woman is powerful sick; have a heap of ailments in my cabin."

"Are there many settlers on this creek?"

"Oh, yes; right smart sprinkling."

Some fifteen men and women belonged to the house, and how we were to be disposed of that night, was a puzzler, as there were only two rooms; but there was really no difficulty on that score. The principal room answered five valuable purposes, though not over twenty feet square — it was kitchen, dining-room, parlor, sitting-room, bed-room. True, there were only two bedsteads in it, but when bed time arrived, the floor was covered with blankets, which afforded ample sleeping accommodations. I was conducted into the "parlor bed-room," which was entirely void of all "modern improvements." It was made of round logs, without any weather-boarding, plastering, ceiling, or "chinking;" the stars were glistening through its sides and roof, and its clay floor was covered with water. In one corner of the pen some stakes had been driven into the mud, rails fastened to them, on which a straw bed lay, with a blanket or two. That was my bed; no, not *mine*, but *our* bed; for soon a big fellow stretched himself on one side of me, and he was followed by another, who laid about six feet of flesh and bones across the foot of the bed. I was tired, and slept first-rate all night, and crawled out of the den in the morning much refreshed.

Mine host said he had been on the frontier all his life; did not own the land he occupied — was a squatter — and wanted to sell his "improvements" and go west, where he could hunt bear and buffalo. He was a Baptist; and when I told him of my faith said he did not want to go to heaven if all sinners go there.

M. "But no sinners go there; they will be regenerated."

Squatter. "Don't tell me that; the reprobates will not

be regenerated ; their doom is sealed. I have grace in my soul, and know I am right."

When I offered to pay for keeping me, he said, "You are welcome; the fare was hard, but when you come this way, give me a call."

Next day rode with a negro an hour who had been visiting his wife and children.

M. "Why do you not live with your family?"

N. "Master won't sell me to my wife's master, so I live ten miles off."

M. "How often do you see her?"

N. "'Bout once a month."

M. "Did you ever have another wife?"

N. "Yes; but her master died, and she was taken south, and the children."

M. "Have you heard since of her, and the children?"

N. "No; don't know whar they are; may be dead."

M. "Perhaps this wife and these children will be sold south."

N. "I hope I may die if they be."

M. "Why do you not buy your freedom?"

N. "Master won't sell me. I offered him a thousand dollars, and pay him in five years, but he would not sell me. Black men can't do anything."

M. "Are you treated well?"

N. "Yes; but I work hard; but I would not mind that if my family were with me."

M. "Where are you from?"

N. "Virginia; left thar many years ago."

M. "Where are your parents?"

N. "Sold south, long ago."

M. "Where are your brothers and sisters?"

N. "Don't know; sold to traders."

M. "Do you belong to any church?"

N. "I belong to the Methodist church, and try to preach."

M. "How often do you preach?"

N. "Most every Sunday."

M. "In how many places?"

N. "Four."

M. "Are you paid for preaching?"

N. "The black people pay a little."

M. "Do you think your white master will go to heaven?"

N. "Why, yes."

M. "Do you think slavery is right?"

N. "I can't think it is."

M. "How, then, can you think slave-holders can be saved?"

N. "I don't know how, but I sort of think some of them will be saved."

M. "Would you not save all white men and all black men if you could?"

N. "That I would."

M. "Will not God save them all?"

N. "Why, no."

M. "Then you are better than God, are you?"

N. "Why, master, who ever heard of God saving all men? Now, I think of it, a man is to preach in Gentryville to-night, who preaches that very doctrine, and I am bound to hear him."

M. "What do the people say about him?"

N. "He is a bad man, and I believe it or he would not preach that doctrine."

Here the negro left me to go to his home. Saw him at the window of the school-house that evening, the

picture of astonishment. Met him in the street next day, and he said, "Master, forgive me for what I said yesterday."

Lectured in Weston, and became acquainted with Thomas Abbott, who was preaching in that place. He subsequently moved to St. Louis, and resides now in Mt. Vernon, Ind. He obeys the injunction, "*Go* and preach." He does go far and near; labors in season and out of season, in his Master's service.

On the other side of the Missouri river was Kansas Territory, inhabited then only by Indians, but now a populous state, with several large cities. While in Lexington, at this time, or subsequently, two negroes were hung for murdering their owner. He had whipped them unmercifully, and they killed him for it. They rode from the prison to the gallows through the principal streets in a wagon, on their coffins, with white hoods on their heads, white frocks thrown over their shoulders, and large ropes around their necks. The poor creatures sang frantically,

> "I am bound for the kingdom;
> Will you go to glory with me?"

This scene, take it all in all, was the most abominable, outrageous, and disgusting exhibition, I ever witnessed. "What do you think of *that?*" said I to a Methodist preacher, who was looking on with a satisfied air. "The majesty of the law must be sustained," said he. The town was full of negroes; but they were silent; saw tears in many of their eyes.

After publishing the *Golden Era* four years I sold it to Thomas Abbott, and soon after he connected it with the *Gospel Herald*, a paper published in Indianapolis, Ind. It was being issued weekly when sold; but I found by

experience, that a weekly paper of our denomination could not be sustained in St. Louis, the expense of publishing and living being so high. While issuing the *Golden Era*, I received hardly any compensation for all my toil; Mrs. Manford did all her work gratuitously, and I could not have hired one to do what she did for less than five hundred dollars per year.

The *Golden Era* had done a good work, and it was like parting with a dear friend to dispose of it. Its circulation when it went out of my hands was thirty-five hundred. Its name had become quite popular. Captain Bursie, who was a subscriber, named his splendid new steamer, "*The Golden Era*," and Bridge Brothers, a well known firm of St. Louis, who were also subscribers, called a cooking stove they patented, "*The Golden Era*."

But I did not cease working for the good cause when the paper was disposed of; rather, worked harder than ever. For about two years was absent most of the time, preaching in Missouri, Illinois, Iowa and Indiana.

Mrs. Manford was also in the field lecturing, not on theology, but on temperance, the elevation of woman, and general education. She delivered some excellent lectures in Louisiana, Hannibal, Macomb, and other places. Let woman speak as well as man in the lecture-room, in the pulpit, on all subjects of human interest. She is as much interested as man in all intellectual and moral themes. And heaven, having gifted her with a soul, instinct with wisdom, purity and goodness, is well qualified to instruct and moralize her race. Let the world, then, be open to her intellectual and moral activities, that she may make the best use of her time and talent. Let her "sue and be sued," buy and sell, vote if she please, and be president too of these United States,

if she can get votes enough. England's best rulers have been queens, and why not American women make good presidents?

Antiquated and barbarous laws and customs, that for ages degraded woman, are being modified or abandoned; and the day is not far distant when she will fill the place in society God designed, and humanity requires. But it must not be expected she will come from the wash-tub, or band-box, in one a slave, in the other a pet, prepared fully for her new position and responsibilities. She may make many blunders, and for a time illy perform her part; all of which self-conceited, and self-appointed "lords of creation" will point to and triumphantly exclaim, "Did I not tell you women are only fit for man's convenience?"

I spent three months in Southwest Missouri, traveling on a circuit I established in that region. Preached monthly in twenty-five places, and rode from ten to forty miles daily. Tried to get a minister to continue the work, but failed. Churches could have been established in Boonville, Georgetown, Calhoun, Clinton, Osceola, Leesville, Warsaw, Pisgah, Rocheport — places I visited. Also spent six months traveling and preaching in the northeast part of the state. Visited twenty-two places monthly for six months, and rode most every day. Spent three days each month at home. Likewise failed to induce a minister to locate in that region. Clergymen of the liberal faith, residing in the free states, were averse to living in Missouri, it being then a slave state. They were not only generally opposed to slavery, regarding it "the sum of all villainy," but had no faith our cause could be permanently established among slave-holders. They

thought human slavery and Universalism were eternally and universally at war with each other.

The winters of 1855 and '56 were about the coldest ever experienced in the West, and I spent both winters in Iowa, traveling and lecturing. Often rode on horseback all day, the thermometer below zero, and delivered a long discourse at night. The Iowa prairies are cold places in cold weather, especially to one whose face is northward. If I had twenty, thirty, or forty miles to ride, I always made it a rule not to go near a fire till the day's work was done. Some men I have rode with, must warm themselves by a fire whenever a little cold, or swallow a dram of liquor; and I noticed they always suffered much more from cold than I did. The best method for a traveler, in an arctic day, to get up an internal heat, is, not by whisky, not by sitting by a fire a few moments, but by thrashing his arms, swinging his legs, or running a short distance by the side of his horse.

Had about this time, a public discussion in Quincy, Ill., with a Methodist preacher, which continued four days. Large numbers attended, and much good was effected. The day after the discussion closed, which was Sunday, a church was organized, and soon after a meeting-house erected. The church prospered awhile, under the ministry of J. H. Hartzell, now of Albany, N. Y. But he leaving, it was finally disbanded, and the meeting-house sold, and some of its members united with the Unitarian church of the place. Quincy is a flourishing town, on the east bank of the Mississippi river, and growing rapidly in importance. There is a splendid bridge across the river at that point.

CHAPTER XVI.

As related in a previous chapter, the *Golden Era*, after passing out of my hands, was merged into the *Gospel Herald*, a paper published in Indianapolis, Ind., and St. Louis was left without a denominational paper. This was not contemplated when the paper was disposed of. Mr. Abbott was confident, that with my assistance as editor, it could be sustained in St. Louis; but experience taught him otherwise. Though well satisfied a weekly paper could not be supported in St. Louis, I was confident a monthly magazine could be, and hence in 1857 commenced a monthly periodical, called *Manford's Monthly Magazine*. It contained twenty-four pages — subscription price, one dollar per year. By the close of the first volume it had two thousand subscribers — a pretty good beginning. Mrs. Manford was co-editor, book-keeper, and general assistant.

Resolved to again canvass Missouri, Illinois, Iowa and Indiana, for the benefit of the new journal; and from 1857 to the spring of 1861, was on the wing most of the time. The *Magazine* was popular with our peo-

ple, and I had no difficulty in obtaining subscribers. The articles were chiefly doctrinal, explanatory, and answers to the ten thousand objections usually offered to the liberal faith.

During the first year of its publication, I took a horseback journey up the Missouri river into Kansas, and was absent nearly all winter. At a hotel in Jefferson City had the following conversation with a Deist:

D. "The Old Testament is full of lies, fables and absurdities. I would as soon believe Guliver's Travels to be divine as the old Bible."

M. "You are too fast, my friend. There are many excellencies in that book, though it is not perfect; neither does it claim to be. That Moses, its principal character, had a deep insight into spiritual realities, must be conceded by every candid person. He was born, brought up, educated, and lived till he was eighty years old, in the midst of the grossest superstition. The Egyptians deified the bull, the cat, the snake, the crocodile; but Moses boldly denounced all such superstitions, and declared there was only one God, and he was a spiritual being, and ruled in heaven and on earth. The Egyptians believed in a formal judgment for every soul after death; Moses taught that God judgeth in the earth. The Egyptian priests said, there is a hell for some and a heaven for others over the river Styx; Moses taught on all occasions, that virtue is rewarded, and vice is punished, in this world. These four tenets are the ground-work, the basis, of Moses' system. He introduced certain forms and ceremonies to be practiced till a superior LIGHT would bless the world and his countrymen be more advanced in civilization, and when that Light came they were laid aside. But his

doctrines of one God, who rules the universe, and rewards virtue and punishes vice, are not obsolete. They are eternal realities, and you say you believe them. You are then a disciple of Moses, fool as you say he was. That Moses did not know the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, is readily admitted; that all he said and did were not divine is also admitted; and it is also conceded that sometimes his spirit did not seem to harmonize with the forgiving spirit of Christ. But with all his imperfections, he was a man among men; he was the tallest man of his day; his brow was bathed in the rising sun, while the world was yet shrouded in darkness."

D. "To that view of Moses I do not much object. But what is called the history of the Jews, is contradictory, and often much exaggerated."

M. "There may be errors in the biblical history of the Jews, but the main statements are doubtless correct. The writers thereof make no pretension to inspiration, that I know of. You do not reject the history of the United States because you find therein conflicting statements.

D. "Well, there are the pretended prophets; do you think they were God's prophets?"

M. "Many events they predicted have, without doubt, taken place. I believe, sir, God has had prophets in all ages and climes. All history, ancient and modern, is full of the supernatural element. It is found in Grecian, Roman, European, and American histories. It is found in the life of the great and good — of Socrates, Plato, Origen, Joan of Arc, Swedenborg, Sterling, Lavater, Oberlin, Wesley, Luther, Murray, and in the life of innumerable other worthies of whom the world is not

worthy. We find them often among the despised and forsaken. They have been spit upon in all the streets in the world. They have been burned at the stake as enemies of God and man. But they cared for none of these things; they knew that they were walking in the light of heaven, and all the powers of darkness could not terrify their brave souls.

It is man's natural condition to be in alliance with the spiritual. When he is material in all his hopes and aspirations, coarse and brutish, he is in an unnatural condition, and the spirit of God almost parts with him, leaving him alone in his sins. But the pure and the good are exalted to heavenly places, commune with the spirits of the just, and are enveloped in a halo of glory. Some rise so high, that the hand of God is on their brow; and then they see visions, dream dreams, heal the sick cast out devils, and speak in God's name. Such are God's prophets; such were the Jewish prophets, and the world in all ages has been blessed with the divine utterances of such godly men and women. Though their brows were immersed in the sun-light of heaven, their feet were on this earth, hence we may expect to find their revelations sometimes tinged with earth coloring."

Lectured in Pisgah, and a man gave notice he should reply the next Sunday. "Then I will show that you deny the Bible, and teach a bundle of lies." "Name one lie I have uttered to-night." "You cannot get me into a controversy now." Preached in Booneville, and then proceeded to Marshall, where I spoke twice. Had some talk with a rum-seller.

M. "Do you think it right to poison and impoverish all you can?"

Rumseller. "I don't poison or impoverish."

M. "You don't! Every dram you sell poisons and impoverishes somebody. The body is the habitation of the soul, made in the image and glory of God; and it is your business every day from morn to midnight, to stand in your den and deal damnation to God's noblest work. What abominable business for a man to engage in! What a life to live! What prostitution of time and opportunities!

R. "If your doctrine is true I am safe."

M. "As my doctrine is true I would not stand in your shoes for all the gold in California. You are a curse to yourself, your family and this town. The fires consuming you, are scorching all with whom you come in contact."

R. "But you preach that all will be saved, and, of course, I am included."

M. "You will not be saved till you repent of your sins in sack-cloth and ashes, and by the grace of God are thoroughly regenerated. You will have to work out your own salvation; and from your business, I conclude you occupy a very low plane in this world, morally and spiritually, and fear you will occupy a low one in the other land, and will have to work long and hard ere you will know much about heaven. I advise you not to credit the slang of Orthodox preachers, that according to Universalism all will be saved anyhow. We believe in nothing of that kind. The pure and good only are saved in this world, and the pure and good only are saved in the world to come. Now, my friend, permit me to give you a word of advice: Sell no more liquor, drink no more liquor, engage in some honest calling, live soberly, righteously and godly the remainder of your days. By

doing so, you will live better, die better, and your life will not be a failure."

Lectured in Miami, then crossed the Missouri river to Dewitt, where I spoke several times. A church was subsequently formed there, but the war broke it up. Held meetings in all the towns on both sides of the river to St. Joseph. In Kansas City lectured five times. This is destined to be a large place. Its position is central, being right in the way of trade and travel. It is also in the midst of one of the finest agricultural sections of the world. Kansas City has a splendid future. While in town I tarried with Col. E. M. McGee, recently deceased. It seems, that when I journeyed from Matagorda bay to Houston, I passed near where he was then living, but did not then know of him. He made a farm in that section, and when I passed along he was cutting down the trees, and his wife gathering the brush in piles and burning it. A few years after, they moved to what is now Kansas City, but then a wilderness. They made a magnificent home in Kansas City — the ground and buildings must be worth two hundred thousand dollars. How unlike the log cabin in the woods of Texas. Have often been at Kansas City since that first visit, and always make their home my home when there. Mrs. McGee and daughter now occupy the residence the husband and father built; may they long live to enjoy it.

Lectured in Wyandotte, Kan. This town joins Kansas City, and like two drops, they will become one — commercially, at least. Its site is magnificent, the ground gradually ascending from the river; and ere long it will be a rich and populous place. An Episcopal

clergyman asked various questions concerning the doctrine everywhere spoken against.

E. "Do your people think Jesus Christ was a human being?"

M. "He certainly possessed a human constitution and organization; was subject to hunger and thirst; was weary and cold, and liable to the pains and agonies 'flesh is heir to.' He also grew from childhood to youth, and from youth to manhood, hence the New Testament says, 'For we have not a high priest which cannot be touched with the feelings of our infirmities; but was in all points like as we are, yet without sin.' Heb. iv. 15. 'But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.' Phil. ii. 7, 8. 'And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us.' John i. 14. He was, then, a man, and would have died ultimately had he lived in an age of justice and toleration."

E. "What was the object of his death?"

M. "I will answer in the language of the Bible: 'For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God.' 1 Peter iii. 18. 'For it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings.' Heb. ii. 10. 'For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son.' Rom. v. 10. Jesus came, then, not as the creeds teach, to appease God's wrath, nor to quench the fire of hell.

'Twas not to quench eternal fire,
That Jesus came and spilt his blood,

Not to appease his Father's ire,
But to reconcile the world to God.'

His noble example in dying for man, has strengthened the martyr's faith on many a scaffold, and when chained to a fiery stake. And he died like them — a martyr to truth and righteousness. He *taught* love to God and man; he *lived* what he taught, and he died confirming his *teaching* and his *life*. That precept, that life, and that death, have been a power in the world for the last eighteen hundred years, and they will be a power in this world in all coming time."

E. "But the Bible talks about man being saved by the *blood*, or *death* of Christ. Do you think there was no special efficacy in his blood and death?"

M. "We say our fathers died to save us from the oppression of Great Britain. In the same sense Christ died to save us from the bondage of sin, and to relieve us from all allegiance to despotism. Blood from any one's veins can only cleanse in a figurative sense. It is the *truth* Jesus taught that cleanseth the soul; and as his blood was shed in attestation of the truth, the Bible refers figuratively to his blood as the efficient cause of our deliverance and salvation. In this sense he 'bore our sins and our iniquities,' was 'wounded for our transgressions,' and 'by his stripes we are healed.'"

E. "There are men in high places in our church entertaining similar views, but in my estimation, they are erroneous. I accept the creed of the church, that Jesus was God, and of all the sequences of that proposition."

Proceeded to Leavenworth, where I delivered four discourses. This was a small town then, but now a large city. While there I heard the following conversation in an adjoining room at the hotel:

"Did you attend the Universalist meeting last night?"

"No; I have no faith in the creed of that church What was the minister's text?"

"'I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ,' were the words. I confess to being much interested. It was the first Universalist sermon I ever heard, and am inclined to think it was the first *gospel* sermon I ever heard. I have, all my life, heard about the abominations of Universalism, and supposed it was a mass of corruption. But if that man last night preached Universalism, I don't know but I must be a Universalist."

"What did he say that took you so?"

"Among other things he said, salvation is not from hell, but from sin, from error, from mental darkness; that Jesus came not to save us from eternal burnings, but to make us good fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children, neighbors, friends, citizens. There is good sense in that."

"What did he say about the gospel?"

"That the meaning of the word, gospel, is good news, glad tidings, and that it really is good news inasmuch as it teaches that sin, suffering and death shall ultimately be abolished and God be all in all."

"Did he say anything about hell? Of course he did not, as there is no hell in his faith."

"He did not say much on that subject, but gave notice that this evening he would give the Bible doctrine of hell; and you had better go and hear what he has to say. The Orthodox view of religion never satisfied me and I am bound to look into this new faith." A church was organized at the close of one of the meetings, and this man united with it.

Spent two days in Weston, Mo., and preached, by request, on the destruction of the enemies to God and man. 1. Sin is an enemy but is to be destroyed. "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the *sin* of the world." "For this purpose was the Son of God manifested that he might destroy the *works* of the devil." Sin, then, is to be destroyed. 2. The devil is to be destroyed. "Forasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that hath the power of death, that is, the *devil*." Thus, the devil, and all his works, are to be destroyed. 3. Pain is to end. "There shall be no more *pain* neither shall there be *sorrow* nor *crying*, for the former things are passed away." How false, then, is the doctrine of endless suffering, endless sorrowing, endless weeping. 4. Hell is an enemy to be destroyed. "*O, hell*, I will be thy destruction." An apostle asks the triumphant questions, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, (*hades* or *hell*) where is thy victory?" 5. Death is also an enemy to be destroyed. We read, "He will swallow up *death* in victory, and the Lord God shall wipe tears from off all faces." "There shall be no more *death*." "The last enemy, *death*, shall be destroyed." But how can death be destroyed if millions of mankind are to be eternally its victims? In the language of Dr. Adam Clarke, "Death is conquered, hell is disappointed, the devil confounded, and sin totally destroyed. Amen! Hallejuah! The Lord God, omnipotent reigneth! He shall reign forever and ever!"

Notwithstanding this distinct and emphatic testimony, many contend, with the Bible in their hands, that sin, pain, death, hell, will eternally prey on countless multitudes of our race; and if you intimate their destruction,

the cry is raised, "delusion, imposture, infidelity." But I trust in God, and believe in the divine promise of the end of all evil, and the bringing in of "everlasting righteousness."

Also lectured in St. Joseph three evenings. At the close of one of the meetings, a preacher remarked, "You have been talking about the mercy of God, but will not God's wrath last as long as his mercy?" I replied: Without stopping to inquire what is meant by the wrath or anger of God, the Bible emphatically declares, that "His anger endureth for a *moment*, but his mercy from everlasting to everlasting." "He retaineth *not his anger forever*, because he delighteth in mercy." "I will *not contend forever, neither will I be always wroth.*" Why not? "Because the spirit would fail before me, and the souls which I have made." Can you give as good a reason why he will be always wroth, why he will contend forever, as he has why he will not? Pain tends to destroy the sufferer. Let a person endure intense agony, and if medical aid does not relieve him, death will soon step in and deliver the sufferer. This is a merciful provision of our heavenly Father, to prevent very protracted suffering. The passage just cited teaches, God would not permit one to suffer long because that suffering would end his existence. "The spirit would fail before me, and the souls I have made." Man can not endure *endless wrath;* he would fail, or cease to be. Jeremiah asks the question, "Will he reserve his anger forever? Will he keep it to the end?" Now observe the answer: "I am merciful, saith the Lord, and will *not keep anger forever.*" "For his anger endureth for a *moment;* weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning." In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a

moment, but with *everlasting* kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord." "The Lord will not cast off forever, but though he cause grief, yet he will have compassion according to the multitude of his tender mercies." "My mercy will keep forevermore." "For the Lord is good; his mercy is everlasting." In one Psalm it is twenty-six times asserted, that "The mercy of the Lord *endureth forever*." It is also said, "God is *rich* in mercy." "*Plenteous* in mercy." We likewise read of his mercy in the plural form. It is said to be "great," "manifold," and "over all his works." The apostle Paul believed in God's mercy, hence his remarkable words, "For he hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have MERCY ON ALL!"

From all this precious testimony, I conclude that the "wrath of God," let it mean what it may, will continue only a *moment*, while his mercy is without end. The mother may forget the son of her love, but God will never forget man whom he hath made. He is merciful to-day, he will be to-morrow and forever. No circumstance or place can turn his love into hatred, his goodness into cruelty. His mercy blesses us in this world and it will bless us in the world to come. Death cannot change the great love God has for man.

Delivered a series of discourses in Kingston, on the "Character of God"— "Man as he Is and is to Be"— "Rewards and Punishments"— "Future Life"— "Restitution." These were the first discourses in the county in defence of our faith. A Baptist minister replied to one of them— traveled ten miles to attend the meeting. He dwelt on the Rich Man and Lazarus. Denied it being a parable, said it was an account of two men in this

world, and world to come — one in heaven and the other in hell — and their fate in eternity is the fate of all — part ascend to heaven, and the balance sink into regions of eternal fire.

I replied as follows: If the text is to be understood literally, the following are FACTS, concerning heaven and hell: 1. Hell is a *place*, not a state or condition, but a place; has a local habitation as well as a name; has length, width, depth and hight; in fact, is the penitentiary of the universe. Hell is called in the passage, "this *place* of torment." 2. Hell is a *red hot oven*. The rich man said, "I am tormented in these *flames*," and begged for a drop of water to cool his tongue. 3. This "place of torment," this fiery oven, is within speaking distance of heaven. Abraham and the rich man had a talk on some interesting topics. Heaven and hell, then, are neighbors — are located side by side, the division fence being a gulf. 4. If the fate of those two men is to be the fate of all mankind, behold the sad end: parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, friends and neighbors, are to be eternally separated — part in heaven, and part in hell — and eternally to gaze at each other across the gulf.

Now, I want to know if there can be any happiness in such a heaven? Can parents be happy, seeing their children in hell, as Abraham saw the "rich man?" Can children be happy, beholding the mother who bore them, and the father who loved them, writhing in the liquid flames, the cursed of God, and the sport of devils? Can the wife behold the beloved partner of her life, suffering immortal agony in the fiery furnace, and rejoice and sing praise? I read a few days since a Presbyterian Sabbath School report, and the writer states, that "heaven will

be made up of remnants of ruined families." Nearly every family will be ruined — a remnant only escape the dreadful wreck. To expect happiness in such a heaven, would be like expecting oranges to grow on icebergs. But if the gentleman is right in his interpretation of the passage before us, there is just such a heaven, and just such a hell; and about every family will be irredeemably ruined. The nearest approach to such a shocking scene, is a band of naked and painted savages, laughing and dancing around the blazing stake, at which their victims are burning. There is your heaven, and your hell, on a small scale.

But to prevent the denizens of heaven becoming *insane* at such a frightful spectacle, it is said, their *memory* will be destroyed — they will not remember they ever had a dear friend on earth. Yes, and they will have to have their *eyes* put out, for Abraham could *see* the rich man. They will also have to be as deaf as adders, else the cries, groans and lamentations of hell will ever be sounding in their ears. But it is evident the text is not to be understood *literally*, but *figuratively*. It is doubtless a parable, a fable, and its *moral* is one of the most interesting and instructive lessons in the New Testament.

Have not room here for the interpretation I gave the passage; but the preacher at the close admitted it seemed reasonable, and was perhaps correct. A rum-seller here told me, he had been through religion, and was satisfied it was all humbug. I suggested that he might be improved if religion should go *through* him.

Lectured in Chillicothe. My subjects were, "Sin"—"Death"—"Hell"—"Salvation." One man after hearing the discourse on sin, objected: Jesus says, "If you

die in your sins, where God, and Christ are, ye cannot come."

"My friend, there is no such passage in the Bible."

"Ah, but there is," said he; "I have read it many a time."

"But you are mistaken. The passage you quoted *at*, reads thus: 'Then said Jesus again unto them, I go my way, and ye shall seek me, and ye shall die in your sins; whither I go ye cannot come.' John viii. 21. The true reading is very different from your version. These words were addressed to the Jews. Shortly after he said to his disciples: 'Little children, yet a little while I am with you. Ye shall seek me; and as I said to the Jews, Whither I go ye cannot come, *so say I unto you.*' John xiii. 33. Now, if Jesus when he told the Jews they could not go to him, meant they should not be redeemed, he must have meant the same when he addressed the disciples, for he said exactly the same to them. But nothing of the kind was intended when he addressed friend or foe. He only meant they could not much longer follow him from place to place, as they had been doing, for he was about to be crucified.

"Many of the Jews did die in their sins, but it does not follow they will sin forever. Because a man sins this year it does not follow he will sin all his life-time. God, surely, is not so in love with sin that he will compel any to sin eternally because this life was mis-spent. What would be thought of a farmer who forced a wicked neighbor to cut down every tree in his orchard because he had cut down one tree? And will the God of wisdom and goodness, compel all to sin eternally who die sinners? If yea, nearly all mankind will be forever lost, for nearly all die sinners, in some degree. The law is,

'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself.' Now, who obeys the law? But few indeed, I fear. Nearly all mankind, then, will be forever lost if there is no redemption for those who die sinners.

"But the good book teaches there is to be 'AN END OF SIN.' Dan. ix. Transferring all sin and all sinners to hell would not be making 'an end of sin,' nor converting sinners to God. It would simply be removing sin and sinners to another locality — that is all. Transporting all the drunkards from St. Louis to Chicago would not be making an end of intemperance. Doing that would only remove the curse from one place to another — nothing more. But when the Bible talks about the *end* of sin, about *destroying* sin, it means just what it says. It does not mean it will *not* be destroyed, will *not* end."

From Chillicothe I journeyed to Dewitt. I well remember traveling that road at another time. It was one of the hottest days of summer, and I rode on horseback from early morn till late at night, in the blazing sun, without a particle of food. About mid-day, called at a house to get a drink of water, and the good woman conducted me to the back porch where were two buckets of iced-waters — one for the white folks, the other for the negroes, and told me to help myself to the refreshing contents of the former. Never shall I forget that blessed bucket and its thrice blessed treasure. I thought of the spring in the desert, gushing forth its cooling draught, and of Jesus resting, as I was resting, at the Samaritan well.

After traveling about one week more, I reached home, having delivered seventy-five discourses, and rode some seven hundred miles — all on horseback.

CHAPTER XVI.

While sitting at the breakfast table of a boarding-house in St. Louis on the morning of April 14th, 1861, it was announced that the South Carolinians had fired on Fort Sumpter. I remarked, "The rebels will rue that traitorous deed." The landlady took fire, and with eyes darting daggers, said, "*We are Southrons.*" "If you are *Southrons*," I rejoined, "you need not be rebels." The whole city was wild with excitement. Americans had fired on their own flag; civil war was inaugurated; but how far it would extend, and what would be the result, were problems the wisest could not solve. Would the whole land be desolated? Would treason, with fire and sword, march through the length and breadth of the country, scattering death and destruction, where peace, prosperity and happiness had so long prevailed? Was the sun of the Great Republic about to set, and set too, in blood, fire and desolation? Was our glorious Union about to be rent asunder by profane hands? Where would the division end? Would it be torn into two, twenty or thirty parts? No wonder loyal men and women were excited and alarmed.

A day or two after that insane act I heard a man on Fourth street read a private dispatch from Senator Douglas: "*Tell my friends they must sustain the government.*" I could not help exclaiming to a bystander, "God bless Douglas." "God d——n him," said an

enraged "Southron." Then followed President Lincoln's call for volunteers, telegraphed far and near. And then the drums began to beat; and the farmers, mechanics, merchants, doctors, lawyers, preachers, all over the land, left their homes and enrolled themselves, "DEFENDERS OF OUR COUNTRY." And many a prayer went up to heaven for their protection and success. When General Lyon, a few weeks after, marched five thousand loyal soldiers through the city and captured "Camp Jackson," the union portion of the population were delighted, but the rebels were dismayed. For weeks, a rebel flag had been hanging over a building at the corner of Pine and Fifth streets, the headquarters of treason; and several leading papers in the city had been working to get Missouri out of the Union. These treason plotters, north and south, east and west, had great expectations. Said one of them:

"We shall succeed. The South will sustain itself in this conflict. The North will not fight. And having the mouth of the Mississippi river, the South will compel the Western States to join them; we shall have a strong and magnificent government, and the Eastern States may go to h——l for aught we care."

I replied: "Three or four years of war will open your eyes, if you have any then to open, concerning the North and the South. Do not delude yourself with the fancy, that the Northern people will not fight for the *right;* you will find they will fight, and as men hardly ever before did fight. It is true, they greatly prefer the arts of peace; but when their country is in danger, the country for which their fathers bled and died, you will find that the spirit of '76 is not degenerated. You do not know what you are about; you are insane. You are disturb-

ing a lion, that by and by will spring to his feet and crush you to death."

But after the Camp Jackson affair, and the citizens had been taught by several bloody lessons to let the soldiers pass through the streets undisturbed, we had peace and safety in St. Louis. The rebel element was strong, but harmless amid a preponderance of loyalty, supported by an army of the "boys in blue." But in Missouri, outside of St. Louis, with the exception of here and there a place where soldiers were stationed, there was but little peace or safety.

The *Magazine* had nearly three thousand subscribers in Missouri, and the Southern States, when the war commenced. I lost all the Southern, and most of the Missouri subscribers, by the mails being discontinued, and the general confusion that reigned. Three religious periodicals — Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian — were discontinued at the beginning of the strife. The former was suppressed by General Lyon, for its treasonable utterances, and its editor jailed. The *Magazine* and *Central Christian Advocate*, were the only religious journals that survived the outbreak. The former was badly crippled, and but for the aid it received from the loyal states, would have succumbed.

I traveled and preached but little in Missouri during the war. Most of the men were in the army, north or south; some left the state, and the few remaining did not think much about religion. The church in St. Louis went to the shades. Mr. Weaver left the year before the war, and located in Lawrence, Mass., where he has been remarkably successful. He is a noble man, and an excellent pastor and preacher. Before a successor could be obtained, the war broke out, and that killed the church.

Our cause has always been feeble in St. Louis. The Unitarian church is old, numerous, and rich; but instead of aiding us by its sympathy and co-operation, it has ever stood off cold as an iceberg. I hear of the love of Unitarians for us, but have never seen much evidence of their affection. They doubtless would like to have Unitarians and Universalists unite, but it must be like the marriage of man and woman, according to Blackstone — the twain one, and that one, Unitarian. We would be fine fellows if we allowed ourselves to be swallowed, head and heels, without kicking.

About this time, I published a pamphlet entitled, "Salvation not by Water Baptism." The Disciples, a numerous and growing sect in the West and South, contend, as is well known, that immersion in water is a condition of salvation. This pamphlet is designed to refute that strange notion. The following is from said pamphlet:

'"Then said Peter unto them, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.' Acts ii. 38.

"If 'baptized' here means water baptism, it is the only place in the New Testament where it is connected with 'remission of sins.' And shall all that Christ and his apostles said about salvation by grace, hope, faith, repentance, be set aside, because in one instance baptism and remission of sins are mentioned in connection with each other? But even in this passage, repentance is coupled with 'remission of sins.' Repentance means to reform, to cease doing evil and learn to do well, and when that is done, of course, our sins are remitted. If a drunkard repents, the sin of intemperance is remitted, and so of all

other sins — when we abandon them, they abandon us. If we resist the devil he flees from us. That is what forgiveness, pardon, remission of sin, means. And that is what Peter means in the above words, as is evident from his address to the people in Acts iii. 19. 'Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.' Here baptism is left out, clearly showing the author, in the other place, did not mean that water baptism puts away sin. The same is taught by Jesus. 'And that *repentance* and *remission of sins* should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.' Luke xxiv. 47. Nothing about baptism being preached in his name. The apostle teaches the same. 'Whom God hath sent forth to be a propitiation through FAITH in his blood, to declare his righteousness, for the REMISSION OF SINS.' Rom. iii. 25. Here again, baptism has no credit for remitting sin; it is done through faith. This apostle also says: 'This is the covenant that I will make with them after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds I will write them: and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more. Now where REMISSION of these is, there is no more offering for sin.' Heb. x. 16, 17, 18. Of course, when the law of God reigns supreme in men's hearts, their sins are remitted, whether they have been baptized or not. It is the law of faith and love that banishes sin—not baptism. It is evident from the above testimony that water baptism does not put away sin, and that the Disciples have departed far from the truth in their notions about the saving influence of that rite.

"And here is another error they commit: they are forever telling us that the kingdom of God was set up on the day of Pentecost.' Their notion runs about thus

— Jesus Christ set up his kingdom on 'the day of Pentecost.' The key thereof being given to Peter, he unlocked it on that occasion, and commenced baptizing men and women into the kingdom. Baptism is the door. Not a living man, woman, or child was inside the door when Peter opened it. On this theological curiosity I have a few words to offer. 1. There is not a particle of evidence that the kingdom of God was set up on said occasion. Peter, who was the sole speaker, said not a word about the kingdom of God, not a word about its keys, not a word about unlocking it, not a word about baptism being the door into the kingdom, not a word about immersing anybody into it. If the august kingdom of the living God was really set up, opened, dedicated, and Jesus commenced his reign on 'the day of Pentecost,' it is very remarkable there is not one word said about any of these important matters by the great apostle. The Disciples draw largely on their imagination for their *facts* when they expatiate about Pentecost. 2. Water baptism is the door into the kingdom, is it? What an idea! It was reserved for the nineteenth century to make the discovery that the kingdom of God is entered as a beaver enters his hut — *under water*. 3. If our friends are right I should like to be informed how the first one got into the kingdom. When Peter opened it not a soul was inside, and no one could get in without baptism. Now, how did the first one get inside? Did Peter baptize him in? But Peter was an 'outsider.' And will any pretend that one *out* of the kingdom could lawfully initiate one *into it?* This, though, must have been done, or one or more must have slipped inside without immersion, and then went to work in good earnest putting others through the watery door into the spir-

itual kingdom. 4. If they are right, not one of the twelve apostles were members of the kingdom of God, for they were not baptized *before*, *at*, or *after* Pentecost. Not even Mathias, who was chosen after the resurrection of Christ, was baptized. They did not enter through this singular door. How then can they be saved?"

Soon after this pamphlet appeared, I made arrangements with B. H. Smith, then pastor of the Disciple church in St. Louis, but now President of Christian University, to have a discussion in the *Magazine* on the efficacy of water baptism. He agreed to furnish twelve articles in defense of this proposition — "Water Baptism is a Condition of Salvation." But seven exhausted his proof, and he would write no more. I learn, that the reason he gives for stopping short of the promised number of communication is, that he was *young* and *inexperienced*, though he was about *forty years* old, and had been in the ministry *several years*. A poor excuse, is said, to be better than none. The following is part of my reply to his first letter:

"You advocate a proposition that consigns nearly all mankind to hopeless ruin. You affirm water baptism to be a condition of salvation; that there is not, and cannot be, any salvation without baptism. Your brethren, generally, adopt the same theory. Alexander Campbell, well known to be a prominent man in your fraternity, distinctly avows your position. Speaking of the 'ACT OF FAITH' which he declares to be immersion in water, he says: 'Whatever the Act of faith may be, it necessarily becomes the line of demarkation between the two states before described. On this side, and on the other side, mankind are in quite different states. On one side they are pardoned, justified, sanctified, recon-

ciled, adopted and saved: and on the other, they are in a state of condemnation. This Act is sometimes called IMMERSION, regeneration, conversion,' (*Christian System*, page 193.) This 'ACT OF FAITH,' you see, is immersion. On one side, that is, all who are immersed, are 'saved, pardoned, justified, sanctified, reconciled, and adopted,' but those on the other side, that is, not immersed in water, are condemned, lost, unpardoned, unsanctified, etc. In one word, immersion is the line between heaven and hell, between the saved and the damned, between those God loves and those he hates. On page 197, he says that 'Immersion is *inseparably* connected with the remission of sins,'—'no person was said to be converted until he was immersed; and all persons who were immersed, were said to be converted.' All through Mr. Campbell's writings immersion is represented as a *savior*. But, sir, reason, common sense, common justice, and every thing else that even *squints* toward the true and right, condemn such a theory.

"Your doctrine of the purifying power of water baptism, is rank Heathenism. The Pagans, publicly and privately, used lustral water, which they thought had the virtue of purifying the soul, and of remitting the punishment of sins. 'The Indians,' writes Bonchet, a missionary to India, 'say that in bathing — that is, immersing — in certain rivers, sins are *entirely* remitted; and that their mysterious waters, wash not only the bodies, but also purify the souls in an admirable manner.' This testimony, Chateaubriand adds, is confirmed by the 'Memoirs of the English Society of Calcutta.' The waters of the Ganges are supposed by the Hindoos to purify those who are immersed in them. This sounds very much like your proposition. The Catholics, like yourself, have incor-

porated this item of Heathenism into their faith. Their General Catechism treats on baptism thus:

Q. "'What is baptism?'

A. "'A sacrament which cleanses from original sin, makes us Christians and children of God; and heirs to the kingdom of heaven.'

Q. "'Does baptism also remit the actual sins committed before it?'

A. "'Yes; and all the punishment due them.'

Q. "'Is baptism necessary to salvation?'

A. "'Yes; without it, we cannot enter the kingdom of God.'"

"You agree exactly with the Romish church. Both you and Popery contend, that baptism cleanses the soul, makes us Christians, children of God, and heirs of heaven. You say, 'baptism is a *condition* of salvation,' the Pope says, 'baptism is *necessary* to salvation.' The Pagans call the baptismal water, 'lustral water;' the Catholics, 'holy water,' and your people, 'regenerating water.' 'No one acquainted with Peter's style,' says Mr. Campbell, 'will think it strange that Paul represents as *saved*, or *cleansed*, *sanctified* by WATER — may not he then call that water, of which a person is born again, the *water*, or bath of *regeneration?*' (*Christian System*, page 265.) It will be observed that you, the Catholics and Pagans, are beautifully harmonious concerning the saving power of water.

"The Indians of the West, appear to have been equally superstitious concerning the regenerating influence of water. In the early settlement of the West, two whites were captured by a band of prowling savages; and when on the bank of the Ohio, were led into the river and immersed by their savage captors. The chief then informed

his prisoners, that this *act*, this *immersion* had changed their characters — they were no longer pale faces, but Indians, and members of the tribe. We smile at the red man's absurdity, but let us be careful that we are not equally absurd."

Delivered several discourses in Bentonsport, Iowa, and made arrangement for a discussion to commence April 1st, 1857, with Elder Gates, of Williamsport, Pa., and continue four days, on the "Second Coming of Christ in Judgment." He was a Second Adventist — supposed said coming would soon take place, when the physical universe would be smashed into pi. The debate came off and here is part of one speech:

The Elder said, Christ's second coming in judgment was to take place at the end of the world. He is right. But what does the New Testament mean by the *end of the world? It certainly does not mean the end of this earth.* The Greek word, *kosmos*, which means the *earth*, often occurs in the Bible, but the Book never speaks of the *end* of the *kosmos*. When the *end* of the world is spoken of, another word is always employed, having an entirely different meaning. But *kosmos* is the very word if this earth was intended. But it was not intended, hence another word is used, and that is *aion*, and Elder Gates knows, every scholar knows, we all know, *aion* means *era*, *age*, *dispensation*. I need not spend a moment to prove this, as the Elder knows it is so. He has not denied it; he will not deny it. Let it be fixed in your mind, then, that the *end of the world*, in the New Testament, always means the end of some *age*. *What age?* When Jesus and his apostles were on earth an important *age* was near its *end* — the Jewish age or dispensation — and Jesus and his apostles often

spoke of its near approach. In our English version, the truth is disguised by calling the end of the Jewish dispensation the end of the world. On that false rendering, Second Adventism is built, Millerism is built, and the common Orthodox view of the end of the earth is built. The rendering is deceptive, and those isms and that doxy are based on a deception. St. Paul's words explode this delusion: "Now once in the end of the world — *aion* — hath Christ appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." Heb. ix. 26. Had this, and kindred passages, been translated right, Adventism and Millerism would not have been heard of.

Mr. Gates also told us, Christ would come in "this generation;" and he emphasized "this," thereby tried to make us think that Jesus, when he uttered those words, meant the Second generation of the Nineteenth Century! Likely he has humbugged many a poor simpleton by that dishonest trick, for dishonest it is, as he knows better. He will succeed better at that game in the dark valleys of the Alleghany mountains than on these prairies where there is so much sun-light. Jesus, doubtless, meant exactly what he said. By "this generation" he meant the generation *then living*, not the generation that might be on earth eighteen hundred years thereafter. Yes, Jesus was to come in the power and majesty and glory of truth in the generation in which he lived on earth, hence the Elder is altogether mistaken in supposing the coming to be now a future event.

Mr. Gates said, that wonderful signs were to herald Christ's coming — wars, pestilence, famine, earthquakes— and as these things have recently occurred, his coming must be at hand. Is the man so ignorant as not to know there have been famine, pestilence, earthquakes,

war and rumors of wars, in all ages? In mentioning the "signs" the Elder should have profited by what I heard one of his Advent preachers say recently. He gravely told his hearers, that the "hog cholera and chicken cholera," then prevailing, were "sure signs of the coming of the Son of Man and the end of the world." He shed some tears right there, and the brethren looked solemn.

After the debate closed, the Elder traveled all through Southern Iowa boasting how he had "used me up," and he may be yet on that mission.

During the month of August, 1858, I had a discussion in Carlinville, Ill., with Dr. McMillan, a Presbyterian clergyman of much ability, and of fine acquirements. Here is the conclusion of my closing speech: Dr. McMillan in the speech you have just heard, told you that our faith in the supremacy of Good over evil, of Right over wrong, of Joy over sorrow, of Happiness over misery, of Life over death, is infidel, immoral, dangerous! If this is so, the converse must be divine, holy, every way safe — faith in eternal evil, eternal hate, eternal wrong, eternal sorrow, eternal misery, eternal death, is Christianizing, sanctifying, and purifying. Others are thrice welcome to all the piety, holiness, and purity, that faith in an angry divinity, malicious demons, eternal burnings, produces. I want none of it. The *goodness* of God leads to repentance — not the flames of perdition, or the wrath of heaven.

But why is this view of the divine economy infidelity, and immoral? What is there about it tending in that direction? All admit God is good enough now to permit all while on earth, to seek and to walk in the ways of salvation. No one sees any infidelity or immorality

in that. Such kindness is rather magnified, extolled and glorified. The Lord is thanked, and blessed, and praised, in every pulpit in the land every Sunday for such love and mercy. Such goodness, it is said, ought to melt every cold heart, and subdue every rebellious soul. But because we preach God will be as good to us on the other side; will be as forgiving there as he is here; will bless all there with good opportunities as he does here, we are called infidels, and it is said we preach immorality. I might with the same propriety assert, that telling men God is good enough to allow them to repent in this world, is infidelity and immorality. If it is dangerous to tell men God will be their Father in the immortal world, that he will love them there, bless them there with means of salvation, I say, if this is dangerous preaching, it is equally dangerous to tell men that God is their Father *now*, loves them *now*, blesses them *now* with means of salvation.

Of course men may *abuse* their privileges; take advantage of God's mercy and forbearance. The popular idea of our privileges in this world is correctly expressed by Dr. Watts:

> "Whilst the lamp holds out to burn,
> The vilest sinner may return."

It will not be denied, this is preached all over the land, and incorporated in all the creeds. And do not many who accept of it, put off the day of repentance year after year, from youth to manhood, then to old age, intending to change their manner of life ere the lamp of life goes entirely out? This will not be denied. They take advantage of this benevolent feature of their creed and postpone the day of salvation as long as possible. Will you expunge it because wicked men take advantage of it? Will you say it is immoral because wicked men

delay living a Christian life in consequence of it? You will hardly do that. And, suppose some who pretend to believe that God's mercy extends beyond the grave, and that wherever and whenever we sincerely repent he will accept of us, and that the time and place of repentance is unlimited, and so defer the time of reformation, would that prove that the eternal forbearance of God is immoral in its influence?

This benevolent tenet of the Orthodox creed is coupled with the belief that a religious life is one of gloom and despondency, and also, with the falsity that virtue is not rewarded or vice punished in this world. These *appendages are immoral.* They cause wicked men, who love the beastly pleasures of sin, to put off, year after year, Christian living. It is not the mercy of God which prompts them to do so, but these false views of a sinful and Christian life. *They* are immoral. *They* weaken the hand of virtue, and strengthen the hand of vice. But our view of a saintly and sinful life are very different. We contend that virtue is *now* rewarded, and vice *now* punished. That godliness has the promise of the life that *now is*, as well as that which is to come. That a religious life is a *cheerful* life, a *happy* life. We also contend, that irreligion and vice fill the cup of life with regrets, with disappointments, with sorrow, with misery. And as happiness is our being's end and aim, if men properly understood the vast difference between a life of vice, and of virtue, they would universally choose the Christian life. Our faith in God's present mercy and future and eternal mercy, is not burdened by the demoralizing tenet, that the life of the Christian is one of hard toil, and that of the sinful of freedom and ease. The religion of Christ, as we understand it, presents innumerable induce-

ments and attractions to live a righteous life. It tells us that virtue is our chief good; that there is no real happiness in time or eternity without it. And as sure as we live a sinful life we reap the sad results, and reap them now. It also tells man, that God is his Father — his eternal Father; that he loves him with a father's love, and regards him with a father's care. That his mercy pursues him, and encompasses him from the cradle to the grave, and from the grave through his eternal being; that wherever and whenever a sinful man aspires to live righteously, godly, divine aid is extended to him, let him be where he may, in this world or in the world to come. "Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation." That was so three thousand years ago; it is so now, and will be so, forever and ever. It is an eternal truth. And we are called on by the horrors of sin, by the beauties and glories of virtue, by the present mercy and the eternal mercy of God, to walk in the ways of salvation now, and to walk in them forever. There is nothing, then, in this beautiful faith that is infidel or immoral; and if it is cherished in the soul deep and strong, it will transform our *characters* into the divine image, and save us with an everlasting salvation. May we who have this divine faith on our lips, also cherish it in our inmost being. How horrible it sounds to hear a woman utter profanity and see her debased and degraded. It is in dreadful discord with her womanly nature. And how shocking it sounds to hear a man who pretends to believe that God is his father, and he, consequently a child of the most High, uttering ribaldry, profanity, and to see him reveling in sin and shame. It is enough to make angels weep to behold such a sad spectacle, and hence Jesus tells us that angels rejoice when sinners repent.

May we all properly understand our nature, our duty, our destiny, our relation to God, and may we, one and all, live in perfect harmony with the facts of our eternal, immortal being and existence.

A few weeks after this, I had an oral debate of four days' continuance at Loami, a village near Springfield, Ill., with Elder Johnston, pastor of the Disciple church at Springfield. He is a bigoted, self-sufficient gentleman, and delighted in personalities, which were the staple of his speeches. Not liking that kind of argumentation myself, I told the people, that if a jackass kicked me, I certainly should not kick him. I thus spoke of the evil things that are said of us:

The sublime faith we cherish, is evil spoken of here to-day, is evil spoken of in many quarters. That is what might be expected. Though it is old in the council of Heaven, old as revelation, it is new in many places, new to many hearts; and we all know that what is new to us we are apt to misunderstand, misrepresent, and oppose. It has been thus the world over, in all ages, and among all kinds of people. When Jesus was on earth teaching the principles we now cherish teaching the impartial love of his Father and our Father, teaching that mankind constituted one great brotherhood, one in their origin, and one in their destiny, it was said he had a devil, and uttered blasphemies. His apostles, who taught the same gospel, were called babblers, and their teachings delusions and impositions. How contemptuously Tacitus, the great Roman historian, who lived while the apostles were preaching, wrote of Christ, his followers and their sublime faith. He called Jesus a fanatic, Christians, infidels, and Christianity a miserable superstition. But that "fanatic," those "infidels" and

that "superstition," drove Paganism out of the Roman Empire, and dashed to pieces its temples and its gods, and then it was no longer a cross to be called a Christian.

But a re-action took place, and Paganism was partially restored in the name of Catholicism; and when Luther posted his ninety-six thesis on the church door in Wettenburg, and thundered and lightened through Germany against this mongrel system, he was belied, slandered and his life threatened. When Wesley saw more light than Luther, and prayed and labored for a stronger, deeper faith, and a holier life, all manner of evil things were spoken of him and his "Methodism," as it was contemptuously called. When John Locke would have all worship God as their light dictated, he was called a fool and an enemy of religion. When the fathers of our Republic said, after Jesus, that all men were created equal, what a storm it raised in Old England, where it was supposed most of mankind were created for the benefit of kings and lords, who reign by the grace of God.

What ridicule and contempt have been heaped upon inventors and discoverers in all ages and climes. They have generally been neglected, condemned, and lived and died in obscurity and poverty, while they enriched the world. When Galileo announced that the earth was racing round the sun, he was called an infidel, and his astronomy a humbug. When Columbus begged the sovereigns of Europe to aid him in discovering a new world in the far distant Atlantic, he was deemed a knave and a madman. A woman only had the wisdom to assist him. She parted with her jewels for that purpose, so strong was her faith. Without her aid, perhaps, this

We need woman now to save the country she helped discover; and those who have faith in her for that purpose, must not be surprised or discouraged if the finger of scorn is pointed at them. So the world goes: its benefactors are often cast out, are crucified, but monuments are built on their graves, to which pilgrims devoutly resort, and lament the follies and blindness of their ancestors, while they are crushing those who are toiling for the good of man as earnestly as did those who sleep beneath their feet.

Saith the great apostle, "We both labor and suffer reproach, because we trust in the living God who is the Savior of all men, especially of those who believe." 1 Tim. iv. 10. Jews and Gentiles denied that God is "the Savior of all men," and denounced Paul for such a faith, hope and trust. It was absurd, profane, blasphemous to entertain such a faith, and the apostle paid dear for it. He endured reproach, hardship and persecution. He fought with beasts at Ephesus. "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep; in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren. In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."

This was the labor and reproach he endured for "trusting in God as the Savior of all men;" and ever since Paul's day, it has been, in this wicked world, a matter of reproach to trust in God as the Savior of all.

Popes, bishops, priests, councils, and synods, have, time and again, called it infidelity, and hurled their bulls at those who entertained that simple faith. But thank God, it still lives in the hearts of thousands, as a perpetual joy.

During the debate, and after, all the Orthodox guns in the neighborhood were fired at the Faith. Every evening, during the discussion, one or two sermons were offered in aid of Elder Johnson's cause; and on the Sunday following, the preachers generally discharged their heaviest artillery in that direction. I preached on Sunday, and did not deem it necessary to refer to the discussion, but delivered a practical discourse, and at the close organized a church.

About this time I had a discussion in White Hall, Ill., with Mr. Davies, a Methodist minister, which was to have continued four days, but Mr. Davies being taken sick, it closed on the evening of the third day. He charged our people with infidelity because we reject the Trinity, and believe God is one — not three. I replied:

I read revelation in the light of the seven golden candlesticks, all trimmed and burning, and there I find it recorded that there is *one* God, whose name and nature is love, that he is our Father, that we are all brethren, and that it is our duty and destiny to love and serve him forever. Now, those who read that book by dim tapers, and through smoked glasses, find fault with us. Their darkness comprehends us not, and they cry at the top of their voices, infidelity. This has been the cry the past two days. A blind man, spiritually I mean, once proposed to debate publicly with me that this faith is no better than infidelity; and a paper I was reading recent-

ly said that Christians, in discussing with us, should take the ground that we are infidels, and this faith infidelity. It is lamentable that so many bearing the Christian name have so far departed from the faith that they brand all with infidelity who subscribe to the first commandment in the decalogue — "Thou shalt have no other God beside me." It does not say us or we. The Bible is full of such infidelity. Seventeen times in the New Testament, God is styled *one* and *only one* — three hundred and twenty times he is styled God *absolutely* by way of *eminence* and *supremacy* — one hundred and five times he is styled God, with particularly high titles and attributes — ninety times it is said all prayer and praise should be offered to Him — three hundred times it is said directly, or indirectly, that Jesus derived his being, power and glory from God, therefore he cannot be God — thirteen hundred times the word, God, occurs, and always means a *oneness* — and in the Old Testament, two thousand times the oneness of God is clearly stated, or distinctly implied, making in all four thousand one hundred and thirty-two places in which it is asserted directly, or indirectly, that God is *one*—not three. If we are infidels, in denying the Trinity, and believing in the oneness of God, the Bible is an infidel publication. Faith in God as one, instead of being infidel, relieves the mind of the worshipers of the confusion they sometimes experience who believe in a trinity of Gods. Their thoughts are apt to pass from one to the other in their devotions, and they are sometimes at a loss which of the three to pay their vows to. A river to be deep and strong, must flow in one channel. So our devotions to be deep and strong, must center on one being to whom we must ascribe all praise, all glory, all power.

Jesus said, we cannot serve two masters; neither can we serve three, and the principle applies to worship as well as to earth-service. There is no infidelity, then, in believing in one God, in worshiping one God. But that person, though, is half infidel, who believes in one God, but does not worship him in spirit and in truth. There is much of such infidelity in the world. It abounds in our churches as well as out of them.

But in devoutly believing in one God, we do not deny Christ or ignore the Divine Spirit. Jesus is the Son of God, and the Spirit is the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth that God pours into the longing soul. God is the Father, Christ is the Son, and the Spirit is a principle, not a person. If this is infidelity, the Bible is full of just such, and multitudes of the most devout men and women that ever lived were and are infidels. This is a comprehensible faith, something we can lay hold of, and bind to our hearts.

My opponent delighted in discussion. It was his meat and drink. He said he had rather debate with a Universalist than eat dinner when hungry. His wife told me, Mr. Davies thought it was his mission to fight Universalism. He had had several debates with our ministers, and was always very abusive, but in this discussion he behaved very well. The excitement of the occasion, though, almost killed him; he had to be carried out of the house, and I was fearful he would die. That discussion ended his "mission;" he has not had a debate with any of us since. We now have a fine meeting-house near White Hall.

CHAPTER XVII.

In the spring of 1864 I resolved to move to Chicago, and publish the *Magazine* in that city. The war was still raging, and appearances indicated its long continuance. Could do nothing in Missouri, and most of my subscribers were nearer Chicago than St. Louis. Accordingly, in May of said year, we bid adieu to the city that had been our home for many years, and took up our abode in the "Garden City" of the West. I had been there but once since 1840, and what a change had taken place! Its population at the present time, 1873, is about three hundred and fifty thousand. In 1840 it numbered some six thousand souls. And it will, doubtless, continue to make rapid strides in its onward march. Its lake navigation almost connecting it with the Atlantic ocean; its railroads extending in all directions through the most productive agricultural region of the world, must concentrate immense wealth and business in Chicago.

Our denomination has three churches in Chicago — St. Paul, Church of the Redeemer, Murray Chapel. Dr. W. H. Ryder is pastor of St. Paul, Dr. J. E. Forrester of the Church of the Redeemer, Murray Chapel, at the present time, is without a pastor. There is also a denominational weekly, the *New Covenant*, published here, edited by J. W. Hanson. It is a useful paper and has an extensive circulation.

Soon after moving to Chicago, I had an oral discussion

in Pontiac, Ill., with Elder Brooks, on Endless Misery and Universal Salvation. In one of my speeches, I remarked:

The apostle Paul was certainly a believer in the restitution of all things. Some of his statements are remarkably lucid, comprehensive, and weighty. Take, for instance, the fifth chapter to the Romans.

1. In the eighteenth verse he says: "Therefore, as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so, by the righteousness of one the *free gift* came upon *all men* unto justification of life." What is this "free *gift*" to all men? Answer: "The *gift of God is eternal life*." Rom. vi. 23. Eternal life, then, is given, made sure, to *all men*. Not to one here and there; to this sect or that sect; this nation or that nation; but to ALL MEN. Let this be remembered.

2. In the next verse of said chapter, he continues: "For as by one man's disobedience, many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous." By "many" here he means the same as by "all men" in the preceding verse, the terms being varied to avoid tautology. Parkhurst, in his Greek Lexicon says, "The word *many* in this verse, signifies *the many*, that is, the *mass*, the multitude; the *whole bulk* of mankind." Dr. Macknight, a Presbyterian critic, writes, "For as the word *many* in the first part of the verse, does not mean some part of mankind only, but *all mankind*, from first to last, who without exception are constituted sinners; so *the many*, in the latter part of the verse, who are said to be constituted righteous through the obedience of Christ, must mean *all mankind*, from the beginning to the end of the world, *without exception*." The statement of the apostle is this — all mankind are sinners, and all

mankind shall be righteous. Can universal salvation be expressed in clearer terms?

3. He continues his argument: "Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound; and as sin hath reigned unto death, even so, might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord." Verses 20, 21. Sin abounds universally, but grace is much more to abound. The grace of God is not only to abolish sin, but to bless all forever and ever. But how can grace abound more than sin, if millions of mankind will be victims of sin eternally? Will the grace of God, resulting in eternal life, abound with the damned? A valuable building is on fire; the fire abounds in every part from base to atic. The engines rush to the spot and pour water all over the building, and extinguish the devouring flames. In this case, where fire abounded, water much more abounds. But if the water failed to extinguish the fire in one-half of the building, would water abound more than fire? So, if the grace of God puts out the fires of sin in only half of the universe, will grace abound more than sin? How is that, Elder Brooks?

4. The whole creation to be delivered. "For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope; because the creature itself shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God." Rom. viii. 20, 21. The word "creature," here means mankind; the Greek whence it is taken, is rendered "creation" in the twenty-second verse. The phrase "every creature," in the commission of Christ to his apostles, is from the same term: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to *every creature*." Mark xvi. 15. Dr. Macknight and others tell us, that

the original signifies, "*every human creature;* ALL MANKIND." Dr. Thomas White, of the Episcopal church, translates the text thus: "For THE CREATION was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected it; in hope that THE CREATION ITSELF also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the sons of God." Mankind, then, are to be delivered from corruption — from moral and physical corruption — into the glorious liberty of the children of God. The apostle says, this universal deliverence SHALL be effected, and I believe him.

5. God will have mercy on all. "For I would not brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceit; that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved; as it is written, There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob: for this is my covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins. As concerning the gospel, they are enemies for your sakes: but as touching the election, they are beloved for the fathers' sakes. For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance. For as ye in times past have not believed God, yet have now obtained mercy through their unbelief: even so have these also now not believed, that through your mercy they also may obtain mercy. For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all. O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out? For who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his counsellor? Or who hath first given to him,

and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things; to whom be glory forever. Amen." Rom. xi. 25–36. Jews and Gentiles include mankind. The blindness of the Jews is to continue "Till the *fulness* of the Gentiles be come in," and then "*All Israel* shall be saved." "For God hath concluded them *all* — Israelites and Gentiles — in unbelief that he might have mercy on *all*." Then the apostles adds, "For of him, and through him, and to him are *all things*, to whom be glory forever. Amen." No terms can express more forcibly the proposition I affirm on this occasion.

The apostle then adds, "I beseech you therefore by the *mercies* of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable duty." He had rehearsed the mercies of God as we have seen. 1. "The free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." 2. "Many," that is, the mass, all mankind, "shall be made righteous." 3. "Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." 4. The whole "creation shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption." 5. God will bring all the Gentiles, and all the Jews, into the kingdom; will "HAVE MERCY ON ALL;" "for of him and through him, and to him are ALL THINGS." His next words are, "I beseech you therefore by the MERCIES of God," etc. It is sometimes said by the opposers of Universal Grace, that it is immoral in its influence. But the great apostle beseeches us in consideration of its TRUTH, to live holy, godly lives. He does not say, as some have profanely said, "If God's mercy will save the world, we have nothing to do; let us then eat, drink and be merry; lie, steal, and murder. It is all right; God will save us anyhow." Let every be-

liever in the boundless mercy of God aim to live righteously and godly, which is his reasonable duty.

These are the statements of the apostle to the Gentiles concerning the extent of salvation; and no one can state the faith we cherish in clearer, stronger, or more forcible language. That gifted man was certainly a believer in the "Restitution of all things."

Facilities for traveling being excellent from Chicago in all directions, I have journeyed extensively, since residing there. Have preached not only in Illinois, but in Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Iowa, Missouri and Kansas. Was at work in Kansas and Missouri when Price made his last raid into the latter state. That was in the fall of 1864. Was in Leavenworth when the state militia were called out to resist the invaders. The citizens of Kansas expected no mercy at their hands should they enter the state; Leavenworth, especially, would be sure to have feel their wrath. The streets of the city were guarded, and orders issued, to arrest every straggler without a pass. Cannon were mounted on the surrounding hills, and every man who could shoulder a musket was required to report for duty. I was tempted to go, armed and equipped, to the "front," but recollecting I had not fired a gun for twenty years, concluded I could not do much execution, and so set my face homeward. But how to get across the river into Missouri, was the question, as no one was allowed to go over without a pass, and I had no pass, and probably could not get one. I, however, rode boldly to the ferry as if on important business, and was passed over without being questioned. When near Weston, was stopped by the picket; but the officer of the day soon coming along, took me to head-quarters, where I obtained a pass to St

Joseph. Leaving my horse with a kind friend, I went to St. Joseph by rail, thence to the Mississippi river, two hundred miles across the state. Considerable portion of the way being infested with bushwhackers, there were thirty soldiers on the train to protect it from those bloody scoundrels. The guard fired on two horsemen, who seemed to be fleeing from the rushing train. Both fell and, as I learned afterward, were killed, and it is sad to reflect were Union men. The conductor thought they were bushwhackers, and that class of fighters were shot down like mad dogs, as they deserved to be. Only a few days before, and a few miles from that spot, Bill Anderson's bloody crew stopped a train, and murdered in cold blood, twenty-one of the passengers. All armed stragglers in that locality, after that terrible crime was perpetrated, were suspiciously regarded. Macon City was alive with business, fifteen hundred soldiers being there, digging ditches, throwing up breastworks, and making every other necessary preparation to resist an attack, which was daily expected. Went to St. Louis; found the citizens intensely indignant at the way General Rosecrans was managing affairs. Half of a general, with the forces at Rosecrans' command would have driven Price out of the state at the beginning of the invasion, when he was yet in the southeast corner of it. But Rosecrans' head being full of whiskey and popery, he let the rebels do about as they pleased. They overran the best portion of the state, and did immense harm.

Spent three weeks between Chicago and Toledo, Ohio. Lectured in many places I had not before visited, and much extended my acquaintance. Had an appointment three miles from Toledo. It was a dismal night, and the road out there was a dismal road. Started after

dark, on foot and alone, to fill the appointment. The air was cold, the night dark, the rain pouring down in torrents, and their being no sidewalk, and the mud deep, had a disagreeable walk. Arriving at the meeting-house, found it dark, and the door locked; and after shivering in the wet and cold outside one hour, and not a soul joining me, returned whence I came. I suppose no one expected I would be on hand such a night. The next day, on the cars, had the following conversation with a fellow passenger who was an Annihilationist:

A. "I do not believe in eternal punishment. I believe God will *destroy* the wicked, soul and body, root and branch."

M. "When will he do all that?"

A. "At the resurrection. Then God will raise saint and sinner, take the righteous to himself, and burn the wicked to ashes."

M. "I congratulate you on the improvement you have made on old Orthodoxy. It is certainly better to burn sinners up than burn them eternally."

A. "I do not believe any one in this world has a spark of immortality in him. We are born mortal, live mortal, and die mortal. Immortality is conditional; and unless we comply with the conditions, we shall be consumed when the world shall be burned up."

M. "What are the conditions?"

A. "Faith in Christ, is one of them."

M. "Will all be destroyed save those who exercise faith in Christ? Is that your theory?"

A. "Yes."

M. "Then nearly all mankind will be burned up. The countless millions who lived before Christ's advent — the good and bad — all consumed in one pile. All

the Pagans, Mohammedans, and Jews who have lived since his birth will share the same fiery fate."

A. "I did not say all of them would be destroyed."

M. "No other inference can be drawn from your words. You said no one would be blessed with immortality and eternal life, who did not have faith in Christ in this world. The child, the idiot, the Pagan, the Mohammedan, all lack faith, and if you are right, destruction is their doom. You are ashamed to admit in so many words so horrid a dogma, but that is your faith."

A. "You do not understand me, and you cannot convince the people of White House that all will be saved."

M. "I understand you and your fiery faith perfectly well. The latter is worse than Atheism, for it asserts death to be the end of man, while your creed asserts that nearly all mankind will be raised from the dead on *purpose to burn them up*. Atheism is a hundred fold better than your theory. It is amazing that a man with the Bible in his hands, and God all round him, can entertain such a terrible theory. You have eyes, but you see not; ears, but hear not; understanding, but understand not. Read the words of truth emblazoned on God's word and works, accept their teachings, and abandon your fiery creed, your worse than atheistical dogma."

Spent one month in the vicinity of the Illinois Central railroad. Went south as far as Du Quoin, about three hundred miles, and lectured in most of the important towns, on and near the road. When in Mattoon and Charleston, the glorious news of the evacuation of Richmond, and the surrender of Lee, flashed along the wires. Up went the banners, and loud were the hosannas

Everybody were in the streets, shaking hands, and with smiling faces. The terrible war was over, the government was triumphantly sustained, and the soldier boys would soon return. No wonder the people were happy.

I was in Ashley, April 14th. Some one said, "Have you heard the news?" "What news?" "Mr. Lincoln was murdered last night!" "It cannot be so, it is doubtless a false report?" But in a few moments, the passenger train came down with its engine draped in black. That confirmed the astounding report. As the train neared the depot no one spoke — no one could speak. The people turned homeward with meditative step and down-cast look. All over the land, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in city and country, where the sad tidings were conveyed, the people were struck dumb. Mr. Lincoln's character had been tested by the most difficult circumstances, and he had proved himself to be a wise, noble, far-seeing man. Everybody had confidence in him — in his judgment, his uprightness, his patriotism. He was deemed the Savior of his country. No wonder the people were "stricken, smitten and afflicted." And then, the awful news was so different from what had been filling the land with joy unspeakable. "Victory, victory, victory; the enemy is subdued, the country saved." had been the pæan of millions. But now it was death, death, death. The great, the good, the beloved President was murdered, and that, too, in the hour of triumph.

Was at Du Quion the next day, where three men were reported to have said, "Lincoln was served right," and forthwith some soldiers, who were at home on a furlough, started post-haste, and brought them into town.

They would have been hanged forthwith, had it been proved they dropped those obnoxious words.

Had a discussion in Milford, Ohio, with John S. Sweeney of Chicago, which continued four days. He was pretty well posted on doctrinal points, and did some good work for his cause. The discussion was conducted pleasantly, and I trust profitably to the hearers. He said the Universalist faith is new in the world; had been entertained but a few years; to which I replied:

The gentleman greatly errs in this matter. The apostle Peter said the "Restitution of all things was spoken by the mouth of all God's holy prophets since the world began." Acts iii. 21. It is old, then, as inspiration, revelation. Far back in the depths of the past, hundred of years before Christ, and outside of the Jewish nation, the "Restitution of all things" was cherished by many of the wise and good. Upper India was doubtless one of the first abodes of mankind after the flood, Noah or some of his children, having settled there. In the sacred books of the early inhabitants of that country, the redemption of all souls is distinctly stated. Buddhism, a sort of Protestant Reformation of the old faith of the people, avows the same destiny for mankind. Padmahani, the Son of the Supreme God, made a vow not to return to heaven until all beings should be brought through him to salvation. True, they were to pass through many terrible hells — first, a hell of snakes, then came thirty-two principal hells, and then one hundred and twenty minor hells. The road to heaven, according to that old theology, was certainly hard to travel; but I suppose one had better go to heaven through all those hells than not get there at all. The author of the "Friend of India," gives the following as the views of many of the present inhabitants of

that country: "According to the Brahmos, God is a loving Father, and men are his children; to secure happiness, men must avoid sin and subdue the sins to which they are prone. They must fulfil all human duty, and especially devote themselves to works of benevolence among the ignorant and poor. For the wrong they do, they will suffer punishment; *but their sufferings are remedial, and will purify the soul from all its errors.* Meditation and prayer are to be employed for the same end; and to assist their followers in this duty, a little book has been published, which is extensively used."

In Egypt, the land of ancient wisdom, many of the priests, Dr. Enfield thinks, entertained a belief in the salvation of all men. See his "History of Philosophy," Book I, chapter 8. In the old Persian mythology, the same idea is contained. It has a God and a Savior; and the latter will finally restore all from the power of satan.

For three or four hundred years after Christ, many of the leading Christian writers were believers in the "Restitution of all things." Says Clement, President of the Theological School in Alexandria, the most noted School of the second and third centuries: "How is he a Savior and Lord, unless he is the Savior and Lord of all? He is certainly the Savior of those who have believed: and of those who have not believed he is the Lord, until by being brought to confess him they shall receive the proper and well-adapted blessing for themselves." "The Lord is the propitiation not only for our sins, that is, of the faithful, but also for the whole world; therefore he indeed *saves all*, but converts some by punishments, and others by gaining their free-will, so that he has the high honor that unto him *every knee should bow*, of things in heaven, on earth, and under the earth

that is, angels, men, and the souls of those who died before his advent."

Clement's great pupil, Origen, was a noted advocate of Universal Salvation. He says: "We assert that the Word who is the wisdom of God, shall bring together *all intelligent creatures*, and convert them into his own perfection, through the instrumentalities of their free-will and their own exertions. And the consummation of all things will be the extinction *of sin;* but whether it shall then be so abolished as never to revive again in the universe does not belong to the present discourse to show. What relates, however, to the entire abolition of sin and the *reformation of every soul*, may be obscurely traced in many of the prophecies; for there we discover that the name of God is to be invoked by all, so that *all* shall serve him with one consent, that the reproach of contumely is to be taken away, and that there is to be *no more sin*, nor vain words, nor treacherous tongue. This may not indeed take place with mankind in the present life, but be accomplished after they shall have been liberated from the body."

A century later, Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, advocated Universal Salvation in the plainest terms: "What therefore is the scope of St. Paul's dissertation in this place? That the nature of evil shall at last be *wholly exterminated*, and divine, immortal goodness embrace within itself *every rational creature;* so that of *all* who are made by God, *not one* shall be excluded from his kingdom."

Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus, in Silicia, A.D. 378 was of the same blessed faith. "The wicked," he says, "are to suffer, not eternal torment, but a punishment proportioned in length to the amount of their guilt; after which, they are to be happy without end." About the same time,

lived Fabius Manus Victorinus. He maintained, that "Christ will regenerate all things; through him all things will be purged, and return to eternal life."

Other learned, good, and influential men in those early days, believed in and taught this truth. I will name Titus, Bishop of Bostia; Basil the Great, Bishop of Cæsarea; Didymus the Blind, and the learned and powerful Jerome. In fact, most of the Christians, Orthodox and anti-Orthodox, in the first age of the Christian Era, entertained this Faith. The writers of those times speak of this Faith as though it was not questioned; they offer no labored argument in its defence, and when they do refer to it, it is only incidentally. But darkness was rapidly covering the earth, and gross darkness the people. The enlightened and benevolent doctrine of the Restitution was not adapted to the savagism of the dark ages then threatening the world, and so in the year of our Lord 553, at Constantinople, by the Fifth Œcumenical Council, it was condemned. From that period till the Reformation of the Fourteenth century, the religions of the world corresponded with the ignorance and brutality that prevailed. Our wise, benevolent, and pure faith, not harmonizing with the savagism of the times, had but few adherents. But in the great religious awakening of the Fourteenth century, it was again entertained, and has been ever since gradually gaining in favor.

In A.D. 1650, Gerard Winstanley, an Englishman, in a book called, "Mystery of God," thus writes: "The whole creation of mankind shall be delivered from corruption, bondage, death, and pain." He was persecuted for his trust in God as a Universal Savior, and thrown into prison. At the same time lived and labored William Earbury, an eminent preacher among the Independents.

He was a defender of the same soul-cheering faith. He asked, "What gospel, what glad tidings is it to tell the world, that none can be saved but the elect and believers? Christ came to save only the *lost*, giving the word of life to *all men*, that they might believe, a shutting all up in unbelief, that he might have mercy on *all*." "For the ministry of God shall be finished, fully known, and the angel swear by God, that time shall be no more; for *all* shall be taken up into eternity, unto God himself, and God shall be *all in all*." (*Terror of Tythes*, pages 175, 244.)

Another noble defender of the Restitution in those times, was Richard Coppin. He was charged with blasphemy for believing in Universal Salvation, and he replied: "Whatever is the will of God is not blasphemy to affirm. The will of God is the salvation of all men, therefore to say that *all men shall be saved* is not blasphemy." (*Truth's Triumphs*, page 7.) He confounded his opposers in discussion, which so enraged them, they had him imprisoned. This took place in 1656. At this time, a book by an unknown author appeared with this title: "Of the Torments of Hell; The Foundation; And the Pillars Thereof Discovered, Searched, Shaken and Ruined. With infallible proof that there is not to be punishment for the wicked after this life, for any to endure that shall not end." The author was a man of ability, and much reading. He gives Orthodoxy some pretty hard hits. This was written over two hundred years ago.

At the same time lived Jeremy White, chaplain to Protector Cromwell. He published a book called, "The Restitution of All Things: or a vindication of the goodness and grace of God, to be manifested at last in the re-

covery of the whole creation out of their fall." He was truly a Christian man; his soul was imbued with the spirit of his faith. Dr. Thomas Burnet of that age, was of like Faith, and Lord Macauley in his "History of England," says he was a "clergyman of eminent genius, learning and virtue." In one of his works he writes, "I know not by what means it happens at present, that some divines of a cruel and fiery temper are extremely pleased with eternal and infinite punishment, and can hardly endure to have the point fairly examined and debated on both sides." There are some of that kind in the world now.

William Whiston, the well known translator of Josephus, was an unbeliever in endless misery. He wrote a book entitled, "The Eternity of Hell Torments Considered." Archbishop Hare says, he was "a fair unblemished character; all his life he cultivated piety, virtue and good bearing." He succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as Professor of Mathematics, at Cambridge. In this book he offers some cogent arguments against eternal woe. R. Roach, another English clergyman, who flourished over an hundred years ago, says, "Then will the general redemption be accomplished, and the mediating office of the great High Priest be at an end, for he will then deliver up the kingdom thus completed to his Father, that 'God may be *all in all*.'" Bishop Warburton, the celebrated author of the "Divine Legation of Moses,' had no faith in ceaseless woe. He justly calls the preachers of that doctrine, "unmerciful doctors," "merciless doctors."

But I have not time to cite more English testimony, that the doctrine of the Restitution has been long entertained by many of the purest, best, and most learned of

that nation. I will cross over into Germany, and see if this divine sentiment has not been entertained in that enlightened land.

As early as 1590, Samuel Huber, Professor of Divinity in Wittenburg, was a believer in the Restitution, according to Spauheim, Professor of Divinity at Geneva. "We think," says the latter, "the opinion of Huber on this subject absurd, who about the close of the last century, began to publish and defend a UNIVERSAL ELECTION OF ALL MEN IN CHRIST TO SALVATION." At the same early day our righteous faith had a talented, learned and pious advocate in John William Petersen. He was Professor of Poetry at Rostock, in 1677. He was also Superintendent at Lubic and Lunenburg, and Court preacher at Lutin. In 1700, he published a work in three volumes in defence of the Restitution, which was extensively read, and caused much excitement in Germany.

At the same time was published a book which has been widely circulated and extensively read. It is entitled, "The everlasting Gospel," by Paul Siegvolk. It clearly and forcibly advocates the salvation of mankind. It was very popular in Germany, and has been republished at various times in different parts of Europe. It was published in this country as early as 1753. That our divine faith was widely diffused in those days, we learn from many other sources. In the *Analytical Review*, an English periodical published in 1780, we find the following:

"The doctrine of the final happiness of mankind, which presents the prospect of the termination of all evil, and of a period in which the deep shades of misery and guilt, which have so long enveloped the universe, shall be forever dispelled, is so pleasing a speculation to a benevo-

lent mind, that we do not wonder it meets with so *many* advocates. From the *earliest* period, we doubt not the belief of it has been secretly entertained by many, who, in the face of opposition and danger, had not the resolution to avow it. Now, however, it has broken through *every* restriction, and walks abroad in every form that is adapted to convince the philosophic, to arouse the unthinking, and to melt the tender."

These books, and others of like character, were widely circulated in Germany, and called the attention of the public to the benevolent faith advocated with so much learning and piety. An exciting controversy was the result; and learned men on both sides put forth all their strength for and against this controverted doctrine.

But I have not time for more about the history of Universalism in Germany. Ever since the Reformation, that faith has been gaining adherents, and at the present time, it is almost universally entertained by the Protestants of that country. Says Dr. Dwight, in "Travels in North Germany," "The doctrine of endless punishment is almost universally rejected. I have seen but one person who believed it." Not only in Germany and England, but in Holland, Switzerland, France, Scotland, and in other parts of Europe, the doctrine of Universal Salvation prevailed at an early day, and at the present time is widely diffused. It exists more or less in all the Protestant denominations. There is no sect in Europe called Universalist, but the sentiment is found in all sects, and encounters very little opposition.

Immediately after this discussion, I commenced a long journey through Iowa. Lectured in Lyons, Marshall, Newton, Iowa City, Washington, and many other places Said a man in Marshall:

"Do you think the assassin Booth can be saved?" I answered: "Jesus said, 'I came to seek and save the *lost*.' 'They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are *sick*.' And the apostle Paul teaches, that Christ came to save the chief of *sinners*. As it was the mission of our Savior to save the lost, the morally sick, the chief of sinners, I dare not say, even Booth cannot be saved. But if Orthodoxy is true, I had ten to one rather have Booth's chance for heaven than Mr. Lincoln's. The latter received his death wound without a moment's warning, and was not conscious an instant after the fatal bullet struck his head. He belonged to no church, was not a professor of religion; and so according to Orthodoxy, died impenitent, unregenerated, a sinner, and must now be in hell. But Booth lived one or two hours after he was wounded, and was conscious to the last moment of his life. And who knows but he repented of his great crime before he expired? And if he did, according to Orthodoxy, he went straight to heaven. But if there is any truth in Orthodoxy, Mr. Lincoln had no chance whatever, for he died 'impenitent,' and is just as sure in hell as he is dead. If Partialism is true, about all murderers are saved, especially those who have the good luck to be hanged, while the murdered are lost, for in nine cases of every ten, the latter, being killed suddenly, without an intimation of their doom, and so have not time to say Lord save me,' are eternally lost; while the former, the murderers, having timely warning of their fate, and special effort made for their regeneration, almost invariably swing from the gallows soundly converted, and so go from the gibbet to immortal glory.

"It takes Orthodoxy to translate the bloody criminal into a saint, and fit him for heaven between his mon-

strous crime and the halter; but Universalism is required to save the murdered, the victim of his iniquity. While I was living in St. Louis, a wretch by the name of Lamb, held with his own hands, his wife in the Mississippi river, till she was dead. He was arrested, confessed his guilt, was hung; and on the gallows said: 'I have a hope within me that bears me up — a hope that I shall live with God, and be happy with him, and that I shall sing his praise. I die with a trust in God.' And Dr. Anderson, a Presbyterian, his spiritual adviser, published in the papers that he was 'satisfied of the reality of Lamb's penitence.' The murdered woman belonged to no church, had not 'got religion,' and so was banished from the murderer's hands to the devil, to be the victim of his diabolical cruelty eternally. But the incarnate fiend, whom the law called her husband, was transported a few months afterward, from the gallows to the third heaven, according to the creeds."

In one of my sermons in Washington, I spoke as follows:

As man is susceptible of physical improvement, is he not also of intellectual and moral? Cannot the soul develop, grow, as well as the body? What a vast difference there is between the infant and he who has devoted years to intellectual and moral culture. The soul is a germ; and, as the germ in the seed, under favorable circumstances, buds, blossoms, and yields a rich harvest, so this spiritual germ, if no obstructions interdict, develops its heavenly proportions to perfect manhood. The race, like the individual, has its childhood, its youth and manhood. One individual, represents the race. As one progresses, all may. Suppose every human being who may walk the earth for the

next five hundred years, should make intellectual and moral improvement, the great end and aim of life, all other pursuits subordinate to that one, what would be the consequence ? The long hoped for, and prayed for, Millenium would be ushered in — all would know the Lord from the least to the greatest — the lion and the lamb would lie down together. This glorious era is predicted by Holy Writ, and God's elder Scriptures. Revelation and nature unite in testifying that mankind, God's noblest and best work, and for whom the universe was made, are susceptible of infinite improvement, that they will shine brighter and brighter to the perfect day.

It may require more than five centuries to produce such results; it probably will; but eternity is before us. The race is in its dawn only. The morning twilight has just appeared. The darkness of barbarism still lingers in the horizon. The chains of intellectual and moral despotism are still clanking in our midst. But the race, as well as the individual, will reach noon-day. The sun of righteousness will mount the zenith, and disperse all darkness and melt all chains. Such characters as Moses, Homer, Plato, Lord Bacon, Shakspeare, Newton, Napoleon, Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Clay, Webster, Beecher, Ballou, Chapin, and a multitude of others in INTELLECT; and such as Socrates, St. John, St. Paul, Melancthon, Howard, Oberlin, Parker, and others too numerous to mention, in MORAL WORTH, indicate the intellectual and moral heights all may attain. They stand out in bold relief from the mass of mankind, indicating the capabilities of human nature. They are pioneers in the intellectual and moral field, and the ground they occupy will ere long be occupied by all. They are hea-

cons on the rushing stream of life piloting humanity into the celestial haven.

The history of the earth and all therein and thereon, as revealed by science and history, illustrates the law of progress. This earth has been a theater of life for innumerable ages — how long it is not for us to know. Remains of the distant part are embedded in the crust of the earth; and from them we learn, that from the first appearance of life in vegetable form, up to man, there has been gradual advancement. The order of unfolding seems to have been about thus: 1. Gross matter; 2. Mineral; 3. Marine Plants; 4. Fish; 5. Reptiles; 6. Birds; 7. Marsupial; 8. Mammalia; 9. MAN, the flower, the crown, the lord of creation. All these classes are interlinked, one hand reaching up, and the other down, and all are ascending in the line of the spiral, up to man. Every succeeding class is superior to the preceding, from the first to the last, and each is moving onward. The last type of the vegetable kingdom is infinitely superior to the first, and so of all the other classes. And man of the Sixteenth century is far superior to man of the First century. No miracle was wrought in bringing any of these species into existence; no law of nature was violated, or suspended; but all, from the lowest grade up to man, were brought on to the stage of life according to perfect and immutable laws, emanating from the great Fountain of the Universe.

Mankind in their infancy were ignorant creatures; as much below the Indians of the Rocky Mountains, intellectually and morally, as they are below us. They wandered, naked, in clans, like the Indians of the West, subsisting on fish, reptiles, and such animals as they could kill with their simple weapons, and on the sponta-

neous productions of the earth, without shelter by night or protection from the burning sun or pelting storm.

Many centuries after, about the time Babylon was founded, though great advancement had been made, yet the mass of the people were still ignorant and degraded. There were a few enlightened minds, but the majority were enveloped in mental darkness, of which we can form but faint conception — fit materials for tyrants and leaders to make machines of and they freely used them for such sacriligious purposes. They were subject to their leader's will; were his bone and sinew; his battle-axe and shield. He was the head, they the body. At his will they suffered and toiled, lived and died, and when their oppressor's career closed, erected pyramids to perpetuate his fame and their shame. But little effort was made to enlighten and moralize the mass of mankind, for their masters well knew that ignorant men make the best tools. No advancement would have been attained under such unfavorable circumstances had not growth been natural to man.

If we trace the history of mankind during the rise and progress of the Chaldean, Babylonian, Persian and Roman empires up to the time Christ was on earth, we find, that though ignorance and degradation were prominent features of the civilization of those times, yet our hearts are made glad with clear evidence of human progress. True, the advancing tide was slow, the current sluggish; sometimes obstacles arrested its progress, and even forced it back toward its source, but nature then redoubled her effort, swept away all obstacles, and pressed onward with her immortal freight to sunnier skies and fairer climes.

When the Christian Era opened, it was the golden age

of antiquity. The purity of our Savior's life, his deep and fervent love for mankind, the beauty and live-giving energy of the precepts and truths he uttered, together with the goodness, zeal and extensive labors and suffering: of his apostles and their associates, gave the human mind an impetus it had not before known.

The apostles and their coadjutors traversed the Roman empire, which included most of the then known world, and denounced Paganism, and every species of immorality, and called on the nations of the earth to worship the one living and true God, the maker and governor of the universe. They proclaimed, in obedience to their divine Master, that God was the FATHER OF MANKIND; that the latter compose one great BROTHERHOOD, and are destined for IMMORTALITY, PROGRESSION and HAPPINESS; and from these cardinal truths they drew these inferences and enforced them with a holy life and eloquent speech — that we should exercise brotherly kindness, general benevolence and charity, and aid each other in traveling the heavenly road.

Those holy men did not labor in vain. The human soul was quickened into higher life by the germinating power of truth; and had the gospel been retained in its purity, and had the social and political condition of mankind been in a higher sphere of development, and had those favorable conditions continued to the present time, long ago the Millenium would have been ushered in. But the gospel was corrupted; the social and political condition of mankind, though in advance of any previous period, was in a deplorable state. The Roman heart was rotten, the Roman empire was corrupt, and before Christianity was promulgated therein to much extent, the empire was tottering on its throne, and

shaking from center to circumference. And to add to the terrors and disasters of the times, floods of barbarians came rushing from the North, and Saracens from the East, like the lava from Vesuvius that overwhelmed Herculaneum and Pompeii, and buried the empire and civilization beneath the flood and almost extinguished the light and life of Christianity. Those were the darkest days the world had seen for many a century. It was the breaking up of the old civilization.

The world then received a check from which it was a long time in recovering; but its innate tendency to move onward, finally overcame the mountains that man's depravity and folly had thrown in its way, and after the lapse of several centuries it again merged into the light of science and religion.

The morning twilight which succeeded that long night of anarchy, priestly rule and superstition, dawned on the world in the Fourteenth century. Intellect that had slumbered for ages began to throw off its lethargy. Universities sprang up in Europe. Science, literature and religion began to be studied. Old theories were looked into and questioned; and then the martyr's fires were rekindled by the conservatives of that age; for every age has a class who love to stand up to their ears in mud at their old landmarks, threatening all with temporal ruin or eternal damnation, or both, who make an effort to get out of the filth into the pure air and sunshine of heaven. This old hunkerism is abhorrent, whether in church, state, or literature. It would repress the energies of the world. Our motto should be — go where the stream of truth bears us, regardless of consequence; they

should not be feared. Error and ignorance only are real enemies.

Those early pioneers in the domain of truth, paid dear for their independence and wisdom; many of whom were burned at the stake or incarcerated in dungeons. But the truths they uttered were not so easily killed or imprisoned. A pious poet of those times speaking of the disinterment and scattering of Wickliffe's ashes on the Avon, utters this prophetic language:

> "The Avon to the Severn runs,
> The Severn to the sea,
> And Wickliffe's ashes shall be strewn
> Wide as the waters be."

The ashes of the martyrs fertilize our soil. The fires that consumed their bodies lighten our skies. The clanking of their chains, and the groans they uttered, are yet sounding in our ears, and inspire us with indignation against despotism of every name and kind. They did as much for humanity by suffering and dying, as by the pen, speech, or holy life. Their tears and their blood form a river that has been meandering through the heart of humanity down to the present time; and all along its margin, little rills have been pouring into it from the hearts and eyes of those who have been persecuted for righteousness' sake. And the stream once small has become large, and will increase as it flows on, imparting vitality to the great heart of humanity. Revere those great men. And though they may not have known the whole truth, yet they were far in advance of the age in which they lived, were true friends of man, and we owe them a lasting debt of gratitude.

And what shall I say of the present condition of the enlightened nations of the earth? The truth is, never be-

fore did man attain the intellectual and moral eminence he has now reached; never was the human mind so active or making such rapid strides as now. "The world is entering on a new moral cycle. The great heart of humanity is heaving with hopes of a still brighter day. The instincts of our nature prophesy its approach, and the best intellects of our world are struggling to turn that prophecy to fulfilment. Thoughts of freedom, duty, benevolence, equality and human brotherhood agitate the nations of the earth; and neither the Pope with his Cardinals and Jesuits, nor the kings with their ministers, can repress it. Were these thoughts imprisoned in the center of the earth, they would burst its granite folds, speed onward in their career and fill their destiny. They are imbued with a deathless vigor. They must prevail, or the idea of a Moral Governor of the universe is impossible, and the divine truths of the gospel a fable."

Old ideas are being modified, or laid aside, and new ones from the heavenly mint are taking their places. The pruning-hook and plough-share are making sad havoc of grey-bearded theories. But we must not for a moment suppose the worshipers of antiquated institutions and ideas, will yield in this struggle without desperate efforts to preserve their idols. And no doubt the cry will be raised as of old, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians;" and multitudes will shout, "Crucify, crucify, all who are not of our party."

All who have eyes must see that changes are taking place every where. Men may shut they eyes and prophesy that all things will continue as their are; but as Galileo said of the earth, after renouncing his philosophy to save his life: "IT REVOLVES STILL;" so whether we believe it or not, the human mind is out-growing old errors,

which had their origin in barbarism, and advancing into the region of truth and reality.

But the old heavens and earth will not pass away without great noise, and not until the elements shall be melted with fervent heat, by the Sun of righteousness. The nations of the earth have long fought with steel and bullet, but now the battle of ideas is being fought. The old and the new, the past and the present, the kingdom of God and the kingdom of satan, have entered the list; and as sure as the rising sun dispels the darkness of night, as sure as day succeeds night, will truth triumph over error in this conflict. The hay, wood and stubble will be consumed, but the silver and gold will pass the fiery ordeal.

Had some conversation with a Spiritualist. The Bible, in his estimation, is full of lies and absurdities; as unreliable as an Almanac in its weather prognostics. But all Spiritualists do not go to that extreme; many entertain sincere respect for that Book, and love to cultivate the religious element. I have a great deal of faith in that kind of Spiritualism. The old prophets, Christ and his apostles, and multitudes of the wise and good in all ages, have been Spiritualists of that character. That kind of Spiritualism is only another name for Christianity. But with the irreverent and ungodly sort, I have no sympathy.

Attended a revival meeting while on this journey, and witnessed some extraordinary doings. There was shouting, ranting, screaming, jumping, crying and laughing. The preacher told us, that the lowest and vilest could be instantly translated into saints. Remembered the old song I had heard on a similar occasion:

"Come dirty, come filthy, come ragged, come bare;
You can't come too filthy — come just as you are."

The preacher did not intend to promote immorality; but no doubt this telling people, that scoundrels at the end of a long life in every crime can be instantly transformed into saints of the first water, and so escape all punishment for a misspent life, has a very immoral influence. A hardened sinner may to-day right-about face, and resolve to walk in virtue's ways, but he has a long journey before him. But if he pursues it, he will finally reach the heavenly city, and walk its golden streets.

A man at the meeting asked if one could be "saved without repentance and regeneration." I replied:

"You might as well ask if a man can see without eyes, hear without ears, think without a head, talk without a tongue, or walk without legs. You misunderstand salvation. It is not from an outward hell, but from ignorance, error, sin, and all their debasing effects. He who has sincerely repented, or reformed, which is the same thing, *is* saved, not will be; a regenerated man *is* saved, not will be saved at some future period, and in some other world. Repentance and regeneration sweep and garnish the soul, make it a fit habitation for the heavenly guest — salvation. Jesus said, 'Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand.' It is always 'at hand,' ready to be established in every reformed, regenerated heart."

Said another, "If Universalism is true, what is the use of preaching?"

"Why, my dear sir," I answered, "preaching is one means by which salvation is effected. God works by means. By means of the sun he lightens and warms the earth; by means of the rain he cools and purifies the at-

mosphere, fertilizes the soil, and fills our fountains with living water. By means of physical laws he controls every globe, and every particle of matter in the universe. So, by wise and righteous instrumentalities, he blesses man spiritually, and will continue to bless him forever and ever. And the proclamation of truth and righteousness through the Christian ministry, is one means appointed by heaven to this blessed end. Eighteen hundred years ago Jesus said, 'Know the truth, and the truth shall make you free;' and he consecrated men, and commissioned them, to 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.' It is freedom *now* that we need; it is salvation *now* that the proclamation of the truth produces. As the presence of Jesus brought salvation into Zaccheus' house, so the preaching of the gospel brings present salvation to the soul. Give up the wretched delusion, that the chief end of preaching is to save us from hell. It is for no such a purpose. Its object is to enlighten and purify us *now*, save us *now*."

In Kimball I delivered a discourse; and at its close a Methodist minister told the congregation that he, heart and soul, believed in the "Restitution of all things;" and that he would not part with that faith for the world. It was the joy of his life; it made him a better man; it prepared him to live, and he trusted that it would be his stay and his hope in the hour of death.

Stopped at Moline, Ill., and delivered one discourse This is a manufacturing place, at the head of Rock Island, and exhibits much thrift and enterprise. Said a man to me in the town:

"The Bible says, no self-murderer shall enter the kingdom of God. What do you do with that passage?"

"That is home-made scripture," I replied; "there is

nothing of the kind in the Bible. Besides, there never was, and never will be, a self-murderer. To murder is to 'kill *with malice aforethought.*' A man may commit suicide, but that is not murder, for he does not do it with malignity or malice toward himself. For the poor suicide I have much sympathy. Who can estimate the agony he suffered, to escape which he took his own life? Have charity for the poor unfortunate; speak not harshly of him; condemn him not. Jesus would weep over his grave, and say, 'Father, forgive him.' The apostle John says, 'Whoso hateth his brother is a murderer, and ye know, that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.' 1 John iii. 15. This speaks of the *present condition* of the murderer — not his everlasting condition. No murderer *hath* eternal life *abiding in him.* Of course he has not, or he would not be a murderer. Eternal life is Christ-life, heaven-life; a life of love to God, and good will toward man. A murderer is selfish, cruel, bloody, revengeful. A murderous character, and a Christian character, cannot exist in one soul. But the murderer may reform. Paul was a persecutor, assisted in murdering Stephen of blessed memory, but he reformed. Jesus on the cross prayed God to forgive his murderers."

"But then suppose he dies a murderer, what will become of him?"

"If the murderer can reform before he dies, why not after he dies? Does reason, wisdom, goodness, the Bible say, that if a man leaves this world a sinner, he will be compelled to be a sinner eternally? That is an assumption of Orthodoxy; but it never was proved, and never will be. Why does the Bible say, 'God will have all men to be saved,' if it is his purpose that all who eave this world sinners never shall be saved? Why

does he call on all to repent, if he intends that all who die impenitent never shall reform? It is a dreadful thing to live or die a murderer; but the mercy of God can save him in this world, and that same mercy can save him in the future world."

CHAPTER XIX.

Left Chicago, accompanied by Mrs. Manford, Tuesday night, Septemper 16, 1866, and by sunrise the next morning were in Galesburg, Ill., one hundred and sixty miles southward. The United States Convention of Universalists was holding its annual session in that place, and we tarried till its close. Met many clergymen from the East and West I had not before seen; and had the satisfaction of shaking hands with W. S. Balch, with whom I studied many years before, but had not beheld his face since I left his sanctum at Claremont, N. H., to come West. He was then pastor of the Universalist church in Galesburg.

Lombard University is located here; and though "University" is rather a big name for such an institution — the West is fond of high sounding names — it is an excellent school, and is doing a great work. It combines an academy and college; its doors are open to both sexes, they having equal privileges. This is as it should be. The old custom of educating girls and boys apart is all wrong. They learn faster together than if educated separately. A healthy rivalry is induced, each sex being anxious to secure the approbation of the other; besides, associating together, not less in the school-room than at home, tends to refine and invigorate both sexes.

September 20th. Mrs. Manford returned to Chicago and at 5 o'clock P. M., I took cars for Quincy, one hundred miles south. Next morning was steaming across

the Missouri prairies to Macon City, sixty miles west of the great river. Most of the country is prairie, high, dry and rolling, with good soil, but thinly settled. Saw large herds of cattle, horses, mules and sheep, feeding on the vast savannahs. Lectured in Macon City.

22nd. Rode to Brookfield, forty miles west. Crossed the dividing ridge between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers — two of the great rivers of the world. Most of the country is hilly, timber is plenty, and the soil middling. Brookfield is exactly midway between the two rivers. The railroad company has its machine shops here. The country around is beautiful and productive. It is a charming locality for a home. Rode into the country, eight miles, the next day, and talked to the people; returned in the afternoon, and lectured to a fair congregation.

25th. Proceeded to Chillicothe, forty miles toward the setting sun, and delivered my message. This is a fine town and rapidly improving. I. M. Westfall, several years since, had a discussion in this place with a Methodist minister, and he made the dry bones shake.

27th. Journeyed to St. Joseph, about seventy miles. This is the largest town in Northern Missouri. Is located on the east bank of the Missouri river; has quite a city appearance; the streets are paved, and the business houses are chiefly brick, and of a substantial character. This, and three other towns within seventy-five miles are striving for the mastery — Kansas City, Leavenworth and Lawrence. Time only will determine which wins. But there is bound to be a large commercial center somewhere in this region. Which of the four will it be? I refer to 1875 for an answer.

28th. Rode to Savannah, thirteen miles northward

and lectured in the evening. Expect to spend three weeks traveling where there are no railroads; and having no conveyance shall depend on a kind Providence, and good friends, for transportation.

29th. Rode horseback to Fillmore, ten miles; a sprightly boy went with me to lead the horse back; and on the next day, Sunday, was conveyed by a friend, to Mound City, eighteen miles, where I delivered a long discourse at eleven o'clock, in a beautiful grove, and in the evening spoke in a school-house four miles distant.

October 1st. Rode a borrowed horse twelve miles and lectured at night. Was sick two days from excessive speaking. Met a woman who heard me in Ohio twenty-five years ago. Am now sixty miles above St. Joseph, on the Missouri river bottom. The soil is as rich as the far-famed valley of Egypt. It is a charming region — beautiful beyond description. A few miles west, the Missouri bluffs in Kansas and Nebraska are visible. Though barely able to sit on the horse, I rode twelve miles.

4th. The ride did me good — am all right again. Went in a buggy to Oregon, twelve miles. About one year ago, I delivered three discourses in this town, the first of the kind heard there, whereupon Mr. Smith, a Presbyterian clergyman, proposed debating. We settled the preliminaries; but Mr. Smith's ardor for the discussion soon abated, and the subject was dropped. But another party is now trying to get up a discussion with me, and are now corresponding with Mr. Summerbell, of Cincinnati, a noted minister in his order, about engaging in it.

5th. Went to Fillmore — rode part way, and walked part way — and lectured in the evening. At a previous

visit to this town, a preacher replied to my discourse. There were several clergymen of different denominations present, and they delegated this one to be spokesman. But he yielded so much that his colleagues were disgusted and said, "he might as well have proclaimed himself a Universalist."

7th. A friend conveyed me on Sunday morning, to Whitesville, eighteen miles, where I spoke on that day twice.

8th. A gentleman and lady took me in a buggy to Rochester, sixteen miles, where I spoke to a large congregation, but found only few sympathizers.

9th. A kind friend conveyed me to my next appointment, at Maysville, twenty-five miles eastward. He took his three boys with him, he said, to show them the country, for they were all recently from Ohio. Men and boys were delighted with the country we passed over, as well they might be, for it is a lovely land — high, rolling, rich prairie. Probably not a dozen in M. had before heard a discourse on the Restitution. Hope some good seed was sown, and, that it will germinate, bud, blossom and yield a rich harvest.

10th. Rode twenty-five miles to-day, and preached at night, and the next day. These were the first sermons on our faith ever heard in Gallatin. A Congregationalist minister gave notice he should reply, two days subsequently. In a conversation with him he remarked, that his denomination were the "*liberals* of the evangelical school."

12th. Rode horseback sixteen miles, to Bancroft, and lectured. Though our liberal faith had not before been publicly taught here, I found many friends. A large family, by the name of Hendricks, all formerly Dunkers,

reside here and are devoted believers in the Restitution. Most of that denomination, I have met with, agree with us in the final redemption of man, and they are generally truly Christian people. Elhanan Winchester once said, "If God has a people on earth, it is the Dunkers."

13th. A friend took me to Trenton, eighteen miles, where I delivered three sermons. They were the first of the kind in the town, or county, and large numbers attended. A preacher did his best to keep the people away, but he was nearly deserted, for the people were bound to hear the "the new doctrine." Met a man by the name of John Murray, who said he was a distant relative of the sainted Rev. John Murray. There is an aged man in Iowa City by the name of Winchester, who is a relative of Rev. Elhanan Winchester, of blessed memory. They have good blood in their veins.

15th. Conveyed to Lindville, fifteen miles, and preached at night. The people had not before heard one of our faith. Some believed, and some disbelieved.

16th. Rode fourteen miles on horseback, and walked six miles. Came to a stream where there was no bridge, and pulling off boots and socks, waded through, and passed on to fill my appointments. Lectured twice in this place, Milan.

18th, Went to Greencastle, fifteen miles, and lectured twice. Two brother preachers are residing near by — W. Brise and G. S. Ayers. It is to be hoped they will hereafter devote more of their time to the ministry.

20th. Lectured in Unionville twice, and once in the neighborhood; next day was conveyed by a friend to Lancaster, twenty miles still farther onward, where I also spoke twice. The day after, rode to Memphis, or rather rode and walked, twenty-five miles, where I spoke

twice, and once in the country. Thence conveyed by a friend to Bentonsport, Iowa, where I took the cars and went home.

I recently heard a discourse by one of our ministers, and he gave Orthodoxy an awful cudgeling. Do not like that kind of preaching; it is too much of the meat-axe order. The Christian minister should preach the gospel in its fulness — present it in its doctrinal, moral and spiritual aspect. But cutting, slashing, and banging, at this creed, and that creed, at this sect, and that sect, is not exactly preaching the gospel. It may be the minister's duty, now and then, under peculiar circumstances, to handle other creeds without gloves; but let him remember and do his duty in this respect in a loving spirit. But there should be but little of this kind of controversial sermonizing. Telling people of the beauty and glory of truth and virtue, and urging a practical knowledge of the same, are far better than fighting Orthodoxy. It must be admitted, that some of the fathers of our denomination, in this respect, set a bad example. They had too much of the Ishmaelite spirit, and many of us have imbibed copiously of the same. True, they were assailed by slander and falsehood, in private and in public, at home and abroad, when they went in, and when they went out; and it required a copious infusion of the Divine Spirit to be perfect lambs under such circumstances. And our people in the West and South, especially the ministers, are still pursued with the same maliciousness, injustice and cruelty, and it requires remarkable good nature to be thus treated without striking back. But some of us have rather overdone this matter of "using up" Orthodoxy. Not, it is to be hoped, that we have been actuated by the fiendish spirit of some

of our enemies; but we spend too much precious time, and waste too much material, on their creeds. Better present the truth in its native beauty and grace, and the world will soon fall in love with it, and take it to its heart.

Had been at home but a few days, when I was called to Southern Illinois, to deliver two funeral discourses. One on the occasion of the death of Mrs. Middleworth, of Windsor, an estimable woman, cut down in the vigor of womanhood, and in the midst of usefulness. A large number attended the service; some came fifteen miles. Surely, if ever we need consolation, it is when death enters our abode, and snatches therefrom a dear friend. Sensitive ties are then severed, and affection's nerves receive a dreadful shock. The death of a friend is like an untimely frost on an orange grove; it may indeed kill but one, but it blights the whole grove. But death is no new thing under the sun. For six thousand years it has been in the world. Every where are dying scenes, and funeral scenes. An army of the living are constantly employed in burying an army of the dead. And this sad work has been going on for sixty centuries.

While in the neighborhood where this service was held, I delivered two other discourses, to great congregations. Thence to Dudley, and delivered another funeral discourse, on the occasion of the death of Mrs. Sutherland, a devoted believer in our most holy faith, and a superior woman. It is sometimes said that faith in the Great Salvation is good to live by, but not to die by. But evidently what is good to live by, is good to die by, for what prepares us to live prepares us to die. When the opposer tells me, that my religion "is good to live by," I thank him for such testimony, but cannot return the com-

pliment, cannot admit that his creed, let it be what it may, if it denies the essential features of the Restitution, "is good to live by." Is Atheism, which denies a God, and orphanizes the world, "good to live by?" Is Deism, that denies a Savior, and doubts a hereafter, "good to live by?" Is Partialism, that represents God as cruel, revengeful and unjust; as loving some and hating others; blessing some and cursing others, world without end, "good to live by?" Men *can* live with such creeds in their heads, as they *can* live on horse ham and mule stake; but it is living at a poor dying rate.

But then, this faith, so full of grace "is not good to die by." But why not? It represents God as a Universal Father, Christ a Universal Savior, and heaven the home to which all are tending. Is not faith in such a God, such a Savior, such a Destiny, good in the hour of death? The truth is, nothing but this can afford peace and consolation in that dark and solemn hour. Atheism, Deism, Partialism, are found wanting in man's dying moments, as when in the possession of health and vigor. True, many close their eyes in death with blissful hopes, who do not accept the gospel in its fulnesss, and for this reason — in their dying hour they gaze entirely on the bright side of their creed, for it has a bright side as well as a dark side. They think they can read their "title clear to mansions in the skies," hence depart in peace. But if they looked for an instant on the dark side of their faith; if they considered that they may be mistaken concerning their own salvation, and, instead of going to heaven, may go to hell; and then, around their dying couch are their near and dear friends, and for aught they know, all of them in a few years will be lifting up their eyes in eternal torment, and begging for a drop

of water to cool their flaming tongues — if the dying deem this possible, and it is possible if Orthodoxy is true, would not the thought turn joy into the bitterest sorrow, and songs of praise into howls of despair? But the truth is adapted to all stages and conditions of humanity. It is our Counselor, Guide, and Hope in the strength and vigor of manhood; our Staff in sickness and old age; our ALL when our eyes are closing in death, and the grave is opening at our feet.

I had a long discussion in Drakesville, Iowa, with Frank Evans, of the Methodist church, which continued six days, commencing April 1st, 1867. Mr. Evans is a gentlemanly and talented man, and the debate was conducted very pleasantly. There was not an unkind word spoken by either of the speakers, and the hearers seemed to partake of the good feeling of the disputants. Discussions often divide the people, and cause angry strife; but this harmonized them, and produced kindness and brotherly love. Notwithstanding the roads were almost impassable, great congregations assembled twice each day during the week. All business was laid aside, and the citizens gave the discussion their undivided attention.

January, 1868, had another discussion with J. S. Sweeney, in Manchester, Ill., which continued four days. Mr. S. is a valiant defender of eternal woe. I admire him for his consistency. He believes in endless damnation, and preaches it, and defends it with all his might. He has on his tongue's end about all that can be said in favor of that terrible dogma, and he tells what he knows about as well as a man can. Large congregations attended, and much interest was taken in the discussion.

I also had a discussion in Farmer City, Ill., with Eld-

er Roberts of the Disciple church, which continued four days. He could not do much for his cause, but the occasion gave me a fine opportunity to present the gospel to the people in its fulness.

Likewise had a debate in Kirksville, Mo., with J. S. Sweeney, of Chicago, which continued four days. It was held in the Chapel of the College in that place by the request of the Faculty. It attracted much attention, and large numbers attended. Some thirty ministers of different orders were present . The debate was reported, and is published, making a book of over four hundred pages. Have room for only one or two short extracts:

"Do not again charge me with misrepresenting your hell while you sing such horrid descriptions of it. Ladies and gentlemen, make hell *mild* as you please; but if it is *endless* in duration, its horrors are PAST IMAGINATION. A billion of years is only one second of eternity, and so would be only one second of an endless hell. Try to count a billion — 1,000,000,000 — which is a million times a million. This is quickly spoken; but no man can count it. If Adam had counted 200 in a minute, and had kept counting to the present hour, he would not have counted *one* billion. Counting 200 a minute, would be 12,000 an hour, 288,000 a day, 105,120,000 a year; and to count a billion would require more than 9,512 years. What a vast period, then, would be *one* billion of years! What a vast period then for immortal souls to suffer! And after *one* billion, they must suffer *another* billion, and ANOTHER, and ANOTHER, and *ANOTHER;* aye, after suffering a *MILLION OF BILLIONS OF YEARS*, be no nearer the end of their damnation, than when they commenced! And all this for the sins of THIS BRIEF LIFE! Yes, for not being

immersed in water! My God, what a creed! I could not believe such a monstrosity if I *would;* and I would not if I *could.* And this fathomless, boundless eternity of wretchedness for no possible good.

"I repeat, and all this wretchedness for NO GOOD to EARTH, HEAVEN OR HELL; to GOD, ANGELS, OR SPIRITS: but only to gratify a FIENDISH SPIRIT, that even the devil of the gentleman's creed would be ashamed of.

"In the Chicago *Daily Tribune* of December 28, 1868, is a sermon of his reported, on Spiritualism; and in it he discusses the *locality* of the hell spoken of in 2 Peter ii. 4. 'For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to *hell*,' etc. He sums up his convictions of the *locality* of this place in these words: '*I think, therefore, that by Tartarus*'— the Greek word rendered *hell* in that place —'*Peter meant the dark regions encompassing earth — our atmosphere — the air.*' This is definite enough. Hell is 'THE DARK REGION ENCOMPASSING THE EARTH;' and, that we may know exactly where that 'dark region' is located, he says it is 'OUR ATMOSPHERE — THE AIR.' We know now exactly where that famous place is situated. It is not in the center of the earth, and the volcanoes its chimneys; it is not in a wild comet, or in the blazing sun; it is the atmosphere all around this earth of ours. Columbus enjoys immortal renown for having discovered this continent; but brother Sweeney beats him — he has discovered a *world* —'the world of woe;' and, if it was not already named, I should move that it be called — SWEENEY.

"We not only know now where hell is located, but we know its length, breadth, and depth. Wise men tell us, that the atmosphere extends forty-five miles from the earth, all around it; and knowing the dimensions of the

earth, we can calculate the square miles of the devil's dominions. If our friend is right, satan has actually blockaded our planet, and every soul that goes to heaven has to run the blockade; and that must be rather dangerous business, if the accounts we have of his industry, watchfulness and prowess are reliable. Only think of going *forty-five miles* right through the very center of that old rascal's kingdom! It must be a perilous adventure. But then the trip must be made by every soul that reaches paradise. The only road from earth to heaven is through hell.

"But my friend tells us, that the air, hell, is 'the *dark* region encompassing the earth.' That is another wonderful discovery the gentleman has made. I have always supposed that the atmosphere was light, save when shaded by the earth or moon. Recently, two men in a balloon went seven miles right up into the air, and it was light up there, and light as far as they could see. But then, Mr. Sweeney says the air is a "dark region," and we must believe it, for don't he know?

"Hell is generally supposed to be a very *hot* place. I once heard a preacher relate, that hell is so hot that if a soul were to be taken out of it, and put into a smelting furnace, red hot, he would freeze to death in five minutes. True, the men just mentioned, who went seven miles into the very heart of hell, though it was August, came near freezing to death, it was so cold up there. But then, they must have mistaken their feelings — they must have come near *roasting* instead of freezing, for don't these preachers know all about the temperature of hell?

"But there will hardly be any more ballooning after this astounding discovery of our second Columbus, that hell

is in the atmosphere. Who will have the courage to venture up there after this? Who will dare climb a tree, or go to the top of the Chicago or St. Louis Court-house, after this amazing announcement?

"But our friend has unwittingly told us the truth about his hell — it is all *air* — all GAS."

I was not at home when the Great Fire of October ninth and tenth, 1871, laid Chicago in ashes, but returned about the time it was extinguished. It was, doubtless, the most destructive conflagration that ever desolated any portion of the earth. In the West Division about one hundred and ninety-four acres were burned over, including sixteen acres swept by the fire of the previous evening. This district contained several lumber yards and planing mills, the Union Depot of the St. Louis and Pittsburgh & Fort Wayne Railroads, with a few minor hotels and factories, several boarding houses and a host of saloons. The buildings burned — about five hundred in number — were nearly all frame structures, and not of much value, but were closely packed together. About two thousand two hundred and fifty persons were rendered homeless in this Division.

In the South Division the burned area comprised about four hundred acres. The southern boundary line was a diagonal, running from the corner of Michigan avenue and Congress street, west-southwest to the intersection of Fifth avenue (Wells) and Polk street. On the other three sides the bounding lines were the lake and the river — only one block (the Lind) being left in all that area. This district contained the great majority of the most expensive structures in the city, and all the wholesale stores, all the newspaper offices, all the principal banks, and insurance and law offices, many coal

yards, nearly all the hotels and many factories, the Court-house, Custom-house, Chamber of Commerce, etc. The number of buildings destroyed in this Division was three thousand six hundred and fifty, which included one thousand six hundred stores, twenty-eight hotels, sixty manufacturing establishments. About twenty-one thousand eight hundred persons were rendered homeless, very many of whom were residents in the upper stories of the palatial structures devoted below to commerce. There were, however, many poor families, and a great many human rats, resident in the western part of this territory.

In the North Division the devastation was the most wide-spread, fully one thousand four hundred and seventy acres being burned over out of the two thousand five hundred and thirty-three and one-half acres in that Division. And even this statement fails to convey an idea of the wholesale destruction wrought there, because the territory unburned was unoccupied. Had there been any except widely scattered structures in the unburned portion, they, too, would have been destroyed.

The fire licked up all in its path, and paused only when there was no more food whereon to whet its insatiable appetite. Of the thirteen thousand eight hundred buildings in that Division, not more than five hundred were left standing, leaving thirteen thousand three hundred in ruins, and rendering seventy-four thousand four hundred and fifty persons homeless. The buildings burned included more than six hundred stores and one hundred manufacturing establishments, the latter being principally grouped in the southwestern part of this division. That part next the lake, as far north as Chicago avenue, was occupied by first-class residences, of

which only one was left standing — that of Mahlon D. Ogden. The river banks were piled high with lumber and coal, which was destroyed, except a portion near the bend of the river, at Kinzie street. Lincoln Park lay to the northward, on the lake shore. The fire burned up the southern part of this park — the old cemetery — but left the improved part untouched, except a portion of the fencing.

The total area burned over in the city, including streets, was two thousand one hundred and twenty-four acres, or very nearly three and a half square miles. The number of buildings destroyed was seventeen thousand four hundred and fifty; of persons rendered homeless, ninety-eight thousand five hundred. Of the latter more than two hundred and fifty paid the last debt of nature mid carnage — fell victims to the Moloch of our modern civilization. The following are the footings of the losses:

BUILDINGS.

Eighty business blocks,	$ 8,515,000
Railroad depots, warehouses and Board of Trade,	2,700,000
Hotels,	3,100,000
Theaters, etc.,	865,000
Daily newspapers (offices and buildings,)	888,000
One hundred other business buildings,	1,008,420
Other Taxable buildings,	2,880,000
Churches and contents,	2,089,000
Public schools and contents,	249,780
Other public buildings not taxed.	2,121,800
Other public property,	1,763,000
Total buildings,	$53,000.000

PRODUCE, ETC.

Flour, 15,000 barrels,	$ 97,500
Grain (1,642,000 bushels, beside private warehouse,)	1,245,000
Provisions, 4,400,800 pounds,	340,000
Lumber, 65,000,000 feet in yards,	1,040,000
Coal, 80,000 tons,	600,000
Other produce,	1,940,000
Total produce,	$5,262,500

No less than three hundred and fifty produce commission offices were burned out.

BUSINESS: WHOLESALE AND RETAIL	
Dry goods	$13,500,000
Drugs,	1,000,000
Boots, shoes, leather, etc.,	1,175,000
Hardware, iron, and other metals,	4,510.000
Groceries and teas,	4,120,000
Wholesale clothing,	3,650,000
Jewelry, etc.,	1,300,000
Musical instruments, etc.,	900,000
Books on sale,	1,145,000
Millinery,	1,610,000
Hats, Caps and furs,	1,060,000
Wholesale paper stock,	700,000
Manufacturers (stock, machinery, and products.)	13,255,000
Other stocks and business furniture,	26,775,000
Total,	$78,700,000
PERSONAL EFFECTS.	
Household property,	$41,000,000
Manuscript work (records, etc.,)	10,000,000
Libraries, public and private,	2,010,000
Money lost (Custom House, $2,130,000,)	5,700,000
Total,	$58,710,000
GENERAL SUMMARY.	
Improvements (buildings, etc.,)	$53,000,000
Produce, etc.,	5,262,500
Manufactures,	13,255,000
Other business property,	65,455,000
Personal effects,	58,710,000
Miscellaneous,	378,000
Grand total,	$196,000,000

A few items included in the first table should really be included in the others, making loss

On buildings, about	$52,000,000
On business property,	85,000,000
Other property,	59,000,000
Total burned,	$196,000,000
Salvage	4,000,000
Real loss	$192,000,000

I, and mine, suffered with others, in this dreadful calamity. Every thing in the office rooms, except the mail book, was destroyed. Miss Hawley, the clerk, fortunately, had that at her home; and though she was burned out, she clung to the precious book, and conveyed it to our house, which fortunately was out of the fire district. The stereotype plates of my books, worth fifteen hundred dollars, were melted into a worthless mass. The day before the fire, I received from the bindery fifteen hundred dollars worth of books, which were also consumed. The other books and furniture in the office were twelve hundred more. Having no insurance, this all was a total loss. This is the second time I have been burned out. My residence at St. Louis was turned to ashes in the summer of 1858, but luckily I was insured that time, and the insurance money was paid without a question being asked.

But the rebuilding of Chicago is a greater wonder than the fire. One year from its destruction, seventy-two miles of side-walks were made; more than one-half of the square mile burnt over in the South Division, which was the very heart and life of the city, was rebuilt in a style far more solid, imposing, and beautiful than originally; the tract of nearly two hundred acres which had been burned over in the West Division, was almost wholly covered with buildings; at least one-fourth of the business part of the desolated North Division was restored; and the prospect is that the second anniversary of the great fire will see the entire South Division literally rebuilt, and the North Division, both in its business and extensive residence districts, well advanced in the work of reconstruction.

And not only will the entire city be speedily restored,

but it will be much more substantially constructed and more beautiful architecturally than it probably ever would have been if its old trade center had not been destroyed. Instead of a majority of the structures being three, four, and five stories in height, as formerly they will now be five, six, and even seven stories high.

I cannot close these statements about the great fire without a word concerning the aid the sufferers received from the whole country. Amid the general gloom, the public distress, and the wide-spread wreck of private property, the heart of the most impoverished man was warmed and lightened by the universal sympathy and aid of his fellow-countrymen. There were cities that looked upon Chicago as a rival. Her unexampled success had provoked hostility,— amounting at times to bitterness In the rank of municipalities, Chicago stood pre-eminent, and that eminence had drawn upon her the prejudices, and often the ill-natured jealousies of her supposed rivals. But the fire ended all this. Hardly had the news reached these cities before our sorrows were made theirs. The noble-hearted people did not wait for details; they suspended all other business, each man giving of his money and his property to be sent to Chicago. Before the fire had ceased it ravages, trains laden with supplies of food and clothing had actually reached the city. St. Louis, and Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Detroit, Pittsburg, and Louisville, were active, even while the fire was burning, in providing for the relief of devastated Chicago. Every semblance of rivalry had disappeared. Not an ungenerous or selfish thought was uttered — everywhere the great brotherhood of man was vindicated, and our loss was made the loss of the nation.

The national sympathy for us in our distress was shown

that in the presence of human suffering there are no geographical lines, no sectional boundaries, no distinction of politics or creeds. The Samaritans outlived the Levites, and there was no such thing as passing by on the other side. The wine and oil, were distributed with a lavish hand, and the pennies deposited to pay for the lodging of the bruised and homeless.

Words fail to express the grateful feelings of our people. Men who braved the perils of the dreadful Monday, who witnessed the destruction of all their worldly goods, and who with their families struggled for life upon the prairies during the awful destruction, and bravely endured it all, could not restrain the swelling heart or grateful tears when they read what the noble people of the country had done for Chicago; how the rich and the poor, whites and blacks,— all, men, women, and children, had done something to alleviate the distress and mitigate the suffering of fellow-beings in far-off Chicago. How true it is that "one touch of pity makes the whole world kin." In some cities the contributions exceeded an average of a dollar for each member of the population, and in the abundance that has been given unto us the aggregate is largely made up from the prompt offerings of the humble and the poor, as well as of the rich. Future statisticians may compute in tabular array the commercial value of the donations to Chicago; but only in the volume of the recording angel will be known the inestimable blessings of that merciful, generous, humane charity which this calamity kindled in the hearts of the whole American people.

During the year ending December, twenty-fifth 1872. I traveled more miles, and delivered more discourses than any previous year of my life. The following are

some of my appointments published in the *Magazine* for that year; and with four or five exceptions, I filled all of them:

For April.—Kankakee, Ill., 3; Clifton, 4, Wapello, 5; Clinton, 7; School-house three miles east of Maroa, same day; Pana, 8; Nokomis, 9; Litchfield, 10; Stanton, 11.

Cottleville, Mo., 12; the Howell neighborhood, 13, 14; Troy same day at 3 o'clock; Wright City. 15; Warrenton, 16; Ashley, 17; Bowling Green, 18; Louisiana, 19.

Rockport, Ill., 20, 21; Pleasant Vale, same day at 3 o'clock; Barry, 22; Griggsville, 23; Perry, 24; Detroit, 25; Milton, 26; New Salem, 28; Pittsfield, same day; Loami, 30.

For May.—Rochester, Ill., 1; Chatham, 2; Virden, 3; Pleasant Plains, 4, 5: Near Athens, same day.

For June.—Cromwell, Ind. 2; Ligonier, same day; Albion, 3; Waterloo, 4; Auburn, 5.

Edgerton, Ohio, 6; Milford, 7; Bryan, 9; West Unity, 10.

Kendall, Ind., 11.

Schoolcraft, Mich., 12; Brady, 13; Dowagiac, 14; Decatur, 16; Hartford, same day; Benton Harbor, 18; St. Joseph, 19; Berrien, 20; Buchanan, 21.

For July.—Roseville, Ill., 7; Young America, 8; Dallas City, 9.

Fort Madison, Iowa, 10; Montrose, 11; Hamilton, 12.

Winchester, Mo., 14; Canton, 15; Lagrange, 16; Newark, 18; Edina, 19; Milford, 20, 21; Paulville, same day; Kirksville, 22; Br. Linder's neighborhood, 23; Green Castle, 24; Unionville, 25.

Bloomfield, Iowa, 28; Ottumwa, 29; Fairfield, 30.

For August.—Kossuth, Iowa, 1; Wapello, 2; Ains-

worth, 4; Washington, 4; Yatton, 5; Iowa City, 6; West Liberty, 7; Atalissa, 8; Welton Junction, 9; Tipton, 11; Clearance, 12; Clinton, 13.

Fulton, Ill., 14; Morristown, 15; Dixon, 16.

Pierceton Ind., 25; Larwell, 25; Columbia City, 26; Fort Wayne, 27; Huntington, 28; Somerset, 29; Wabash, 30.

For September.—Logansport, 1; Walton, 2; Tipton, 3; Frankton, 4; Elwood, 5; Anderson, 6; Pendleton, 8; Oakland, 8; Cumberland, 9; Greenfield, 10; Knightstown, 11; Carthage, 12; Dublin, 13; Abington, 15; Everton, 15; Rushville, 16; Morriston, 17; Shelbyville, 18; Moscow, 19; St. Paul, 20; Waldron, 21; Cicero, 22; Greenton, 23; Hartford, 24; Priam, 25; Montpelier, 25; Nottingham, 26; Bluffton, 27.

For October.—Brookfield, Mo., 13; Chillicothe, 14; Trenton, 15; Breckenridge, 16; Kingston, 17; Cameron, 18; Savannah, 19; Fillmore, 20; Oregon, 20; Mound City, 22; Craig, 23; Rockport, 24.

Hamburg, Iowa, 25; Sidney, 27; Plum Hollow, 28; Hanie, 29; Pacific City, 30; White Cloud, 31.

For November.—Red Oak, Iowa, 1; Valisca, 3; Clarinda, 3; Bedford, 5 and 6.

White Cloud, Mo., 7; Maysville, 8; Prairie Park, 9; Guilford, 10; Whitesville, 10; Rochester, 11.

Wathena, Kan. 12; Troy, 13; Iowa Point, 14; White Cloud 15 and 16; Hiawatha, 17; Seneca, 18, 19; Atchison, 20; Grasshopper Falls, 22; Oskaloosa, 23; Medina, 24; Newman, 24; Topeka, 27.

For December.—Grant, Kan., 1; Dover, 1; Ottawa, 3; Peoria City, 4; Stanton, 5; Paola, 6; Mound City, 8; Les Cygnes, 8.

West Point, Mo., 9; Butler, 10 11; Austin, 12; Harrisonville, 13; Pleasant Hill, 14.

Olathe, Kan., 15; De Soto, 15.

Kingsville, Mo., 17; Warrensburg, 18; Knob Noster, 19; Sedalia, 20; Bailey's Creek, 21, 22.

To conclude: I have innumerable reasons to be grateful to Almighty God, that I have lived so long, enjoyed almost uninterrupted good health, had so many friends, and been permitted to labor in the Gospel Ministry. Truly, the Lord has blessed me all the days of my life. I have never had but two spells of sickness, and they were induced by hard labor in hot weather. Notwithstanding my extensive traveling, I have never met with the slightest accident, and I have journeyed by sea and land, in sailing vessels and steamboats, on railroads and on horseback, in stages and in wagons of all descriptions. Have traveled in dangerous localities by day and by night, but a penknife is the largest weapon I ever carried. One more personal remark — I never snuffed, chewed, or smoked tobacco; neither did I ever poison my body or my soul with a glass of liquor — do not know whisky from brandy, and do not covet the knowledge

CHAPTER XX.

BY MRS. MANFORD.

A year ago, when Mr. Manford announced in the *Magazine* that he would soon issue a new and enlarged edition of TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN THE WEST, little did we think it would devolve upon us to complete the work. Little did we think that the brain that planned, and the hand which was to execute a work of such importance, would so soon fail, and he be numbered with those who go away never to return. It becomes now our sad duty to give the waiting friends, as best we may, a short account of the last ten years of Mr. Manford's services in his chosen vocation—publishing the glad tidings far and near. Language fails as we attempt to speak of those years of persistent toil and self-sacrifice. From his own words, written when the shadows began to cloud the bright future of his days, may be learned the motive that impelled and consecrated all his life: "I LOVED THE GOSPEL, AND I LIVED TO PREACH IT." How in accordance with the spirit of Him who said: "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world."

In 1873, when the last edition of TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN THE WEST was published, Mr. Manford had brought down the record of his travels from twenty-five years to thirty-five years, ten years later. In 1883, he intended to complete the record of Forty-Five Years in the West. But, after months of repeated trials, he was obliged to forego further effort. How he resisted disease and weakness, alternately rallying and sinking; how he wrote a little,

and then laid the paper aside, hoping an interval of rest might bring the desired strength, is too mournful for us to dwell upon. The following brief notes were all that he was able to prepare for the final chapter of this book:

"During the two succeeding years, 1873 and '74, I held meetings in three hundred and ninety different places and delivered four hundred and thirty-nine discourses in Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, and Kansas. Do not remember of failing to reach one of the places at the appointed time, and going to some of them was arranged two months in advance. This was pretty well, as they spread over a large territory, and most of them were from twenty to one hundred miles apart. Often did not reach the towns where I was to speak till the bells were ringing, and the congregations were gathering. But the people had faith I would be on hand, and so made all necessary arrangements. Was often much amused at the remarks of people going to meeting, they not knowing I was at their elbow. "He has not come yet, but Mr. G. says he never fails when he makes an appointment." Chimed in another, "I hope he will come as I never heard a Universalist sermon; wonder how he looks, will he read the Bible, take a text, sing and pray?" Her companion added, "Expect he looks like satan, as our minister yesterday said he was satan's preacher." "Stop such nonsense," added the first speaker, "I have heard him preach, and it was an excellent sermon, and as to his looks, he much resembles my brother John, and you know he is a handsome man." I went into the church at their heels, they took seats near the pulpit and I in it. They looked confounded, and did not at the close wait for an introduction. Such journeys and so much speaking, though very laborious and often attended with discouraging circum-

stances, were sources of much real satisfaction. Met many friends of bygone years, made many new ones, and had the satisfaction of sowing the good seed of the kingdom in many hearts. The meetings were mostly held in orthodox churches, and pastors and choirs were present.

"Notwithstanding as a denomination we are much better treated than formerly, there is still room for improvement in that direction. We also have reason to complain that our sentiments on vital points are wickedly misrepresented. The editor of the *Christian Record*, a Disciple paper of Bedford, Indiana, thus slanders us: "Universalists tell us that all sinners will be saved in Heaven with or without repentance, as their theory is, that all liars, thieves, murderers, blasphemers, and robbers, as well as all others, believers and unbelievers, will be unconditionally saved in Heaven at last." Universalists "tell us" no such thing, and the editor doubtless knows it, but this slander is published for a sectarian purpose.

"Alex. M. Hall, in a recent edition of "Universalism Against Itself," thus breaks the commandment: "The system of belief denominated Universalism, teaches that all men will be saved irrespective of moral character." This is in the introduction, and then through five hundred pages he fires away at this man of straw. I told him in the Magazine that he misrepresented Universalism, and he replied in his paper that: "We are ready to join issue with the editor of Manford's Magazine, upon the truth of this statement." I assured him I would publish every word he might write in defense of his false and reckless assertion, but could not get another word from him; and he was pressed so hard to redeem his promise that he got mad and stopped sending his paper to me. He evidently found he had falsified, but had not manliness enough to own it, and

so kept silent. Just think of a man issuing a book of five hundred pages to refute what he knows nothing about!"

The next paragraph was left unfinished. It was the beginning of an account of a preaching tour in Iowa, probably the one referred to, among others, in 1873 or '74. It was in Iowa, ten years later—October, 1883—that he filled his last appointments. There he spent the last month of his public life, speaking in many places where his presence had been familiar for more than a score of years.

Not having fully recovered from previous illness, the tax was too great upon his mental and physical powers, and he returned with the fatal malady fastened upon him that a few months later ended his useful life on earth. But he was hopeful of returning health, and ready for new hardships. In the *Magazine* of November is the following characteristic note:

"Have just returned from Iowa and the western part of Illinois. Have been absent four weeks, and preached nearly every day. This issue of the *Magazine* is delayed one week by our absence. We are glad to say that our health is much improved. We are good for another twenty-five years' pull."

Mr. Manford always arranged his appointments for holding meetings with the certainty of one who could command the elements, overcome all obstacles, bear all fatigue, and triumph over all the ills that flesh is heir to. Hence, announcements like the following:

BASKET MEETINGS.

"Beginning in May, we will be prepared to hold 'Basket Meetings,' so called, anywhere from Ohio to Kansas. Will deliver from two to five or six discourses at each place. All wanting our services had better write soon. We expect to do much hard work this year. Never since Christianity was first announced was there more de-

mand for the living ministers of the word. Let us supply that demand."

A few selections from his notes of travel will suffice to show the character of those self-imposed tasks, and the time and labor necessary to perform them. The record of one year is substantially that of the whole ten:

TRAVELS IN ILLINOIS.

"Left home Tuesday morning, March 26, 1878, and reached Monmouth about sunset, where we spoke at night in a hall to a fair congregation. Wednesday spoke in Swan Creek. Large congregation. Several came on horseback and in carriages twelve miles, though the roads were bad and the night dark. Thursday occupied the Disciple house in Blandenville. Next day spoke in Fountain Green. Next day went by carriage seven miles, then by rail about thirty, then in a mud wagon through mud and water seven miles, to a neighborhood south of Warsaw, where we spoke at night to a large crowd. Next day, Sunday, at 11 A. M., delivered a discourse on the occasion of the death of Mrs. Daugherty, an estimable woman who departed this life last November. Our themes were life and immortality. There was a very large attendance of sympathizing friends and neighbors. "To die is gain," is the assurance of the Gospel of Christ. To die *may* be gain or it may be a dreadful calamity, is the assurance of Orthodoxy. To die is destruction, is the assurance of Infidelity. We prefer the Gospel's assurance. In the afternoon rode eighteen miles and spoke at night in West Point. A very large congregation. Most of them came several miles through the mud and darkness. Started Monday morning before light for a station eight miles distant. Stopped a few hours at Springfield. Went through the new capitol which has cost several millions, and will cost another million to finish. Spoke at night in Rochester in the Disciple house. We have a building there, but it was not deemed large enough to hold the expected congregation, and it was not. We have spoken here occasionally for thirty years. Next day, Wednesday,

filled our appointment in Cowden, in the Methodist house. A large turn out. Thursday were at our post at Sulphur Springs, thirty miles distant—were conveyed by our good friend, Br. S. Akins. On the road called on Br. Vail, who has a son in our ministry. He resides in the east. House full. Have a church here. Next day a brother took us to Mason, where we spoke in the Methodist meeting-house. Well attended—the minister assisted in the service. Next day, Saturday, went in a wagon to Altamont, fourteen miles, and spoke in a store-room—no meeting-house could be obtained. Had only one day's notice, but there were twice as many as could be accommodated. Sunday morning, Dr. Rice conveyed us in a carriage to Brownstown, seven miles, where we met a very large congregation. Occupied the Disciple house. In the afternoon drove to Vandalia, seven miles, and spoke at 3 P. M. This is the old capital of Illinois. Always have good meetings here. Have spoken there now and then for many years. Monday preached in Clement, in a schoolhouse. Our people have a legal right to the use of the Methodist house, but the door was closed. There was much indignation at the conduct of the Methodists. Next day spoke in the Methodist house at Odin. Have a few zealous friends. Always have good meetings. Next days, Wednesday and Thursday, preached in Kinmundy. Occupied the Methodist house. Large congregations. Friday lectured in the Disciple meeting-house in Centralia. We are now in the heart of Egypt, the land of corn, wheat and fruit. Spoke in Ashley Saturday night. Sunday morning. Raining hard, and we have an appointment at 11 and 3 o'clock in Williamsburg, twelve miles distant. Many intended going from Ashley, but the storm prevents. Reached there in good season and found the house full. Several here from Franklin county, thirty-eight miles away. Also some from Monroe county, sixty miles distant. Monday went in a carriage to Mt. Vernon, twelve miles. Started at 2 o'clock Tuesday morning for Louisville, one hundred miles distant. Railroad being too slow, could not get there, so stopped at Jeffersonville

and delivered a discourse, and the next day spoke in Flora in the Disciple house. Large congregation. Nearly three years ago we preached here; a Methodist minister was present, and took notes. About two weeks since he replied. It should have been a strong reply, as it took most three years to get it up. Next day occupied the Baptist house in Xenia. A large crowd attended. Proceeded to Clay City and spoke in the Disciple meeting-house. Good meeting. Next day, on the train to Olney, there were several preachers aboard, by themselves, and their yells, screams and laughter could be heard all along the line, above the roar of the train. Little would one have thought, if he did not know, that those noisy gentlemen believed that about all the unbaptised sons and daughters of earth were on the direct road to an everlasting hell. Spoke at Olney that night in a hall, which was well filled, and next day, Sunday, spoke in Noble, in the Baptist house. Some came ten miles. Monday night, on trains and at depots all night, and reached Hutsonville Tuesday about sunrise, and spoke at night in the Methodist house, and the following day in our meeting-house three miles from town. Next day spoke in Greenup in the Presbyterian house. Large number out. Many years ago a preacher here begged the Lord either to convert or kill us, and he didn't seem to care which He did. That wicked spirit is passing away. The day after occupied the Presbyterian pulpit in Casey. Next day, Saturday, preached in the court-house at Prairie City. The large room well filled. Next morning, Sunday, rode eight miles to Johnstown, and spoke in the Baptist house at 11 A. M. At 3 P. M. spoke in the Methodist house at Shiloh, seven miles distant. Several preachers present, and a very large congregation. At night, same day, preached in the Methodist house at Neoga, seven miles further on. Next day reached home. Absent five weeks.

Ten Weeks in the West.

"We have been solicited the past year, from scores of places in Missouri and Kansas, to visit those states, and proclaim the good news of salvation.

"We left home Friday night, September 24, 1880, at 9 o'clock, and after riding till 11 o'clock next day, 275 miles, reached Milton, Iowa, where we spoke at night in the Baptist house. A hard rain came up about sunset, or we should have had a large congregation. Sunday morning, rode into Marion and preached twice in a Presbyterian house; had large congregations, and excellent meetings. Monday night spoke in Memphis, in the Congregational house. Had an excellent meeting. Next night, in the Methodist church in Lancaster; met some old friends who came several miles. Years ago we had some mean opposition here. Had a brief debate with a Methodist preacher, and he went about the country afterwards telling he had had a fight with the devil. Next day rode twelve miles with Br. Brown, who was once one of our preachers, and had a meeting at night. Had only two or three hours to give notice, but a large number assembled. After meeting rode five miles in a farm wagon, and the next morning eight more, when we transferred ourself to the top of a load of hoop poles, and after twelve miles more riding, landed in Unionville, and preached in the Congregational house at night. Have some whole-souled friends here. Next day went to Browning by rail, and spoke at night in the Disciple house; it was crammed and jammed. The Marion Center friends sent a carriage here, twenty-five miles, to convey us there to attend the Convention. Tuesday, Judge Perry conveyed us to Bancroft, fifteen miles, where we spoke at night. The day after, rode to Bethany, where we preached Wednesday and Thursday nights, in the court-house full of people. Our hearers were from all parts of the country.

"Friday morning Br. Reno, from Civil Bend, started with us for his home, thirty miles distant. Stayed two hours at Salem, where we spoke at 11 A. M., and then proceeded to Civil Bend, and preached at night in the Methodist house. The building was crowded with attentive hearers. The day after, Saturday, Br. Reno conveyed us to Maysville, twenty-five miles, where we spoke Saturday night, and twice on Sunday in the Disciple meeting house. Monday went in

a carriage to Rochester, eighteen miles, and spoke at night in the Presbyterian house—Rev. F. M. Miller, Presbyterian, had an appointment, but he insisted on our preaching. We spent the night with him, with a Presbyterian family.

"Left Rochester Tuesday, at 9 A. M., for Maryville, where we had an appointment that day, but the railroads defeated us, and we did not reach there till Wednesday morning; it was a great disappointment to us and others. Many came several miles from the country. The Adventists adjourned a meeting they were holding, and went in a body. It is not often we fail to fill our appointments, and should not this time had we not been at the mercy of the railroads. Wednesday afternoon rode to Quitman, but a hard rain at the very time for meeting prevented people from going. Thursday night, preached in Graham, in the Presbyterian house. Next night spoke in the Presbyterian meeting-house at Mound City. This town is located on the Missouri river bluffs and "bottom"—eight miles from that great river. The country here is magnificent in appearance, and the soil is of the best quality."

Strong men were often surprised at the amount of speaking and traveling he accomplished year after year. Rev. J. S. Cantwell, D.D., when editor of the *Star in the West* (in 1878) thus speaks of a list of appointments to be filled by the editor of the *Magazine:*

Rev. E. Manford, of Chicago, publishes seventy-eight appointments in the July number of his *Magazine*, extending from August 13th to November 11th. These appointments are in Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, and to fill them will involve thousands of miles of travel and preaching twice on every Sunday and nearly every evening in the week for three months! This is truly a laborious task, and but few men are equal to its performance. We sincerely unite with Brother Manford in the hope that his health will be sufficient for these appointments. Long journeys of this kind are not unusual for Brother Manford, and thus

far he has been remarkably well sustained in his widespread missionary work. For the information of our readers in the Northwest we publish this remarkable list of appointments in the *Star*.

To the above list Mr. Manford added twenty-eight more, and extended them to the middle of December!

To all entreaties to favor himself lest he should break down, his reply was: "I am immortal until my work is done." How prophetic! In the early morning of Saturday, August 16, 1884, he passed into the higher life. His work was done. We lay down the pen believing the "royal elements in his character have been crowned and sceptered." Precious to those who live is the legacy of such a life.

IN MEMORIAM.

How his labor was appreciated and his character estimated by those who knew him well, is best shown in the following tributes to his memory. Rev. T. H. Tabor contributes these tender words:

"The death of Erasmus Manford will carry great sorrow to hundreds and thousands who knew him personally and loved him as a friend and a brother. The thought that he will enter the many homes no more, where he was always received with manifestations of respect and affection, is a sad thought. That those who watched for his coming at the appointed time, as regularly and with as much confidence as they watched for the return of the birds and flowers in the spring time, will see his welcome form no more on earth, fills us with sorrow too deep to be expressed in words. He has gone on his last journey—he has preached his last sermon, his record is made up, and must stand as he has left it.

"He was the veteran publisher of the Universalist Church, and probably outranks all others in this field of service. He became a publisher by starting the *Christian Teacher*, a monthly journal of twenty-four pages, in April, 1841, at

Lafayette, Indiana, and with very short intervals between the sale of one periodical and the starting of another, he remained a publisher till the hour of his death.

"He was also the veteran preacher of the Universalist faith in the West. There are probably one or two ministers living, who have preached more years than he—but he had preached more than fifty years in the Southwest and West alone. His labor as a minister, has been mainly of a missionary character, for which no regular compensation was promised. And journeys in this capacity have extended over seven or eight states, and have been attended with an amount of weariness that but few ministers of the Gospel know anything about. His preaching has always been doctrinal, and was by the consent of nearly all, not only clear but convincing. He is spoken of by experienced ministers as being an exceptional doctrinal preacher, in the clearness of his statements and the force of his appeals.

"He was likewise a veteran debater, and probably no Universalist minister, living or dead, outranked him in the amount of service in this field, extending, as it did, through more than fifty years of ministry. His great self-control gave him great advantage in controversy. Several of his discussions have been reported and published, and are accounted among the best in this branch of our church literature, by those competent to judge.

"His long and varied services in these three departments of labor, gave him a great opportunity to make friends; and if he has sometimes incurred enmity it will occasion no surprise. The man who could go through so many years of varied service, without displeasing any one, would have to be more than human, in our judgment. But the end has come, and our brother's religious faith and trust was clear and strong to the last. He has wrapped the drapery of his couch around his weary body and laid it down to rest. To him there was no death.

> 'An angel form
> Walks o'er the earth with silent tread,
> He bears our best beloved away,
> And then we call them dead.'"

Rev. Sumner Ellis, D. D., gives an outline of his career in wonderfully graphic and touching language:

"Rarely has it fallen to the lot of man to fill so many years with so continuous and ardent an activity. His was signally a busy life. Early surmounting a youthful defect in health by a journey from New England to Texas, mostly on foot and on horseback, he was for at least fifty years a man of marvelous vigor and endurance, meeting exposure with unconquerable hardihood, and assuming onerous toil with steadfast zest; and when but a few months since he fell under the disabling touch of paralysis, he was still wearing the armor of the active soldier, and shrinking at the thought of entering on the retired list.

"For a full half century he was an itinerant; but to set forth what must have been the hardships of itineracy thirty and forty years ago in this new west, in Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas, requires a more graphic pen than ours. In his own simple narrative of 'Twenty-five Years in the West'—a book which proves that fact may be as romantic as fiction—the scene is best portrayed. We see him leaving his well-loved home, after a brief rest, to make his laborious circuit of a month, or of three months, with an appointment for each and every day of his absence; and these appointments, save on Sundays, were seldom more than one in a place. Often were they a long day's walk or drive apart, and not unfrequently over roads rendered well nigh impassable by the wet seasons, and through streams full of peril would he make the dreary distance. In the wilderness, where the road was sometimes little else than a trail, he would now and then miss his way, and only after miles of wandering on foot or in the saddle would he regain the blind path, making some humble cabin late at night, or even camping in the deep solitude with a sod for his pillow and the clouds for his canopy. As a rule he had to share the scant accommodations of new settlers—a log hut for shelter, a hard bed for slumber, and the simplest table-fare. All temperatures, from the torrid to the arctic, he had to endure without flinching, and no tempest turned

him from his appointed way. For at least twenty years o his career itineracy meant ample hardships and meagre compensations, and yet was he ever striking his tent in the morning to pitch it in some new quarter at evening.

"But the answer to the inquiry, Why did he thus? does not readily shape itself. Shall we say that from his sailor father he inherited a drop of roving blood? And may we not suppose that first long journey from Boston to Galveston, made in the interest of health did something toward inducing a migratory habit? Or may we not conclude that he loved to bear the light as he saw it into the midst of the surrounding darkness, to tell the good news of the Great Salvation to unaccustomed ears, to be a pioneer with this old doctrine newly dawning on the modern world? It is quite possible he shared also some measure of delight in the controversial aspects and episodes involved in itineracy. He was an apt debater, and could not have been wholly indifferent to the sense of victory with which he came from a momentary or a more formal and protracted contest. Rarely did he enter a new field but he found a fresh assailant, and at length it became an easy task to parry every shape of attack and to urge the unanswerable propositions of his own faith; and among the lures which led him on through fifty years of pioneering we may without doubt reckon this pride and pleasure at bearing his creed to triumph in conflict. But far deeper was the motive already noted, to vindicate the divine character where it most needed vindication, and to carry love into those regions where fear held darkest sway, and to plant the rose of hope in hearts where grew the bitter weed of despair. A convert himself, and knowing all the joy of yielding the old theology for the new, he most delighted in making converts of others, and ever sought to bear his message to the unconverted; and it is quite probable he preached Universalism in its simple outlines to more people who had never heard the cheering doctrine than any clergyman of our order, east or west. For a time others, like the gifted George Rogers and the eloquent Pingree, may have been equally busy in new fields; but no one

besides himself crowded a half century with ardent pioneering.

"On how many minds has he stamped his thought! In how many hearts has he kindled gratitude and friendship! In what vast outlying regions, stretching away into distant Missouri and Kansas, was he a welcome visitor, as he went thither from time to time to bear his instructions to waiting congregations and his sympathies to private homes; for he was at once preacher and pastor, and thus doubly endeared to scattered multitudes, who will not fail to cast the flower of a grateful memory on his fresh grave.

"In 1841 he began the publication of a periodical for the advocacy of Universalism, and for most of his remaining forty-three years he kept up the enterprise in some form, and thus at length, with an able and willing co-worker at home in Mrs. Manford, he was enabled to make itineracy a source of profit as well as pleasure; for we must concede that from the first it had assumed some shape of fascination for his heart. But it now took on a business form and became a canvass for subscribers as well as a missionary task. In due time books were added as new means of instruction and sources of revenue. Like his preaching, their aim was to convince and convert, to unfold the outlines of Universalism before minds which had never contemplated them, and to fill anxious souls with the cheer of this new reading of the Word of God. But it was only by dint of a tireless industry abroad, seconded by the clear head and the busy hand he left at home, that he was able to win a reasonable measure of worldly success. By no lucky turn of the wheel of fortune, but by hard labor and steady economy, came the temporal treasures he has left behind. For the services he rendered they seem but a fair recompense.

"But from this view of Mr. Manford moving from place to place in the wide field of his toils, telling his plain story of God's love and the triumph of good, let us turn for a moment to note him in the peaceful retreat of his home. No heart could be happier than was his when, dusty and weary, he came back from his wanderings and crossed the

familiar threshold to be once more at home. He loved his family and his friends and neighbors, as he was beloved by them, and to be in their midst was to him as a foretaste of Paradise. Going forth, he left his benediction in tender words, but when he came in, covered with the signs of much travel and toil, he renewed it with face aglow and heart abounding with gladness. The fireside was his earthly heaven, and into the reunions of the holidays he entered with a happy zest which none who ever witnessed it can forget. In the delights of the home he seemed once more to be a child. In the festive game he bore a part, jest he answered with jest, and was ever ready to entertain with his fund of apt story and strange personal experience. A born and bred pioneer, he never forgot the one sacred spot on earth—his happy home—and from the House of many Mansions he no doubt looks back to earth, still invoking heaven's best blessings on wife and child and friend."

Rev. L. G. Powers gives a clear and careful statement of

HIS WORK IN THE WEST.

"At this time it is fitting that even more than a passing tribute should be paid to the value and extent of Mr. Manford's labors. For many years he was one of the most important agents in the promulgation through the great west of the doctrines of universal holiness and happiness and the final restoration of the whole human family. For more than forty years he traveled and preached over nearly all of the north-western states. In many of those states he visited and preached in every county and in nearly every township. Frequently, in his earlier ministry, he visited places where, before his appearance, the name of Universalism had scarcely been heard. He preached wherever he could secure the smallest hearing, whether of believers or doubters.

"He was granted the fellowship of the Universalist churches in the year 1836. Almost immediately after he was thus authorized to preach, he made his way to the western

states. After a short time he began publishing a paper, and for over forty years he never ceased to make his influence felt by his books and papers, as well as by his sermons, lectures and debates.

"By his spoken and printed messages thousands have been led to embrace the larger hope for the future of man. Many are the individuals who have acknowledged to the writer of this article the great debt of gratitude that they owed to him for their liberation from the thralldom of old theological fears. Some of those people are now members of our Universalist churches. Others still retain their connection with other denominations. These latter, as a rule, reside in places where there are no Universalist societies.

"Forty years ago, when he began to travel and preach, he found great difficulty in securing places in which to hold his services. No Orthodox church would open its doors to him. In many places, even the country school-houses were barred against those who cherished his faith. In those days he spoke mainly in barns, groves and private houses. In the last few years of his labors a great change is to be noted. In most places churches of all denominations were opened for his meetings, and their ministers were ready to assist in his services.

"Among the common people—the farmers and laboring men of the northwest—his name was more widely known than that of any other Universalist clergyman. Hundreds have listened to him who have seldom or never seen or heard of any other clergyman of his faith. They have read his books and papers, and have but a vague idea of the other literature of his church.

"The story of his wanderings, his preaching and debates —and the many varied experiences of his busy life are given in his 'TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN THE WEST.' That shows something of the part he played in disseminating the belief of the Universalists. But there is another side to his work. It was something of which Br. Manford seldom spoke, and of which his book is almost silent. He never laid claim to the position of an organizer of Universalism.

He claimed rather to be an evangelist—the proclaimer of the glad tidings—the true Gospel of Hope and Reconciliation. And yet organized Universalism in the West owes as much to his labors as to those of any other single individual. At this present time our people are interested in all facts relating to the history of our organized work, as well as to the propagation of our faith. Those thus interested in our denominational history can find much of importance in the forty years' work of Br. Manford. The first fourteen years of his labor in the ministry were mainly confined to the State of Indiana. When he first went to that state there were some clergymen proclaiming the final salvation of all men. They were mainly of Southern birth and sympathies. They had organized a state convention, but would not recognize the general convention nor the great body of New England Universalists. They stoutly opposed the idea of a general or uniform organization of the believers in Universalism. The great work that Mr. Manford accomplished for organized Universalism was in opposing these preachers and aiding in organizing the believers in Indiana in fellowship with all the other believers in the land. Between 1840 and 1850 all of the early associations in Indiana—with one exception—were organized mainly through his instrumentality. And finally these associations sent delegates which, assembling in his own house, established the present state convention of Indiana.

"A few years after this thorough organization of Universalism in Indiana upon the same essential basis which we behold to-day—Br. Manford moved to Missouri. He carried with him the old interest in organized work. While residing in that state he assisted in organizing the state convention of Missouri and several associations in different sections of the country. In Illinois he did but little toward organization, as the convention and most of the associations were organized before he moved into the state to reside. But if he did not assist in organizing these bodies he was always ready with his money to aid them in their work of advancing the cause of Universalism. In

the last few years he contributed generously to nearly all of the western conventions and to all the denominational schools in the west.

"And now the busy life has closed its earthly career. His was a life of ceaseless activity. The results accomplished were due mainly to his tireless energies. Others may have excelled him in scholarship, in eloquence and similar accomplishments. His industry and activity enabled him with less artificial acquisitions to accomplish far more than many others whom some would call greater. But judging him by the results accomplished we must say in bidding him a long farewell: Here closes the life of one of the most successful workers in the Universalist Church."

Rev. Wm. Tucker, D.D., thus speaks of

THE LESSONS OF HIS LIFE.

"The life and death of good and great men are events under the direction and control of Providence. They are events that reveal the presence of God in biography and history. There are providential men—men called of God to a special work, and by special preparation qualified for and adapted to that work. Providence is a great educator. It superintends all the lessons and teachings of experience. It provides conditions, and arranges the circumstances under which experience takes place, and thus becomes the great experimental teacher. In this sense Br. Manford was a providential man, and was fitted for, and called to do a providential work. He was called of God to the work of the ministry, and fitted for it by nature, and experience. These natural qualifications were given by God, and the experimental preparation and training was directed by providence. He was blessed with a strong constitution, good health, great energy, wonderful power of endurance, large hope, warm heart, strong will, powerful emotion, clear intellect, and great religious enthusiasm. He was thus by natural endowment fitted for a missionary of the cross, and set apart to the work of a pioneer preacher of Universalism.

"These fine natural faculties were trained, developed and cultivated in the providential school of practical experience. God thus fitted him for the work to which he was called, and qualified him for the place he was to fill among men according to the appointed order of divine providence. The lesson taught is this: The work of the ministry is a divine work, the call to it is a divine call, and fitness for it is a divine gift.

"Every good man is a revelation of God. Man in his intellectual, moral and spiritual nature is like his divine Father. God lives in him, works by him, speaks through him, and reveals himself in man's nature, life and character. The better man is the more is he a revelation of God—the more clearly does he reveal God to his fellowmen. We often see the divine in the human, and hear God's truth in man's thoughts and words. Br. Manford, as a great and good man, was a revelation of God. His intelligence, reason, conscience, benevolence and moral purity, revealed God as a rational, moral, spiritual and benevolent being. His life was a revelation of the divinity. He preached divine truth, and illustrated divine purity. His love for man revealed God as loving humanity, and his moral character revealed God as a moral governor. In his justice, goodness, benevolence, kindness, sympathy and tenderness he manifested the life of God in the soul of man. He was a moral teacher, a preacher of righteousness, and he lived the morals which he taught. He taught by precept and example, preached by word and deed, and lived the gospel which he preached. Thus revealing the practical power of religion. His life manifested the power of Christianity as a practical moral force in the individual and in society. It showed the saving power of the gospel of Christ. As a manifestation of spiritual life, it revealed the moral adaptation of the gospel to the nature and wants of man. The influence of such a life on the moral elevation of society is incalculable. Though dead he still speaks, and his spiritual presence is still felt among men. He is yet a power in the earth; for the good man's influence can never die."

Hannah B. Manford

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

MRS. H. B. MANFORD.

REV. G. S. WEAVER, D. D.

It is a common remark that no two persons look alike. It is equally true that no two persons are alike. In face and form, each person is himself—is peculiar and unlike every other; so in character and life. There is a never-ending interest in walking on the sea-shore and observing the endless variety of form and color of the pebbles which greet and delight the eye. There is a still greater interest in studying the separate lives of individuals. Each one is so distinct and so marked with personal peculiarities that every human life is a wonder. Indeed every man is a marvel, and every life something new under the sun. The romance of a well told story is surpassed in every life. No poem is so poetical as our own experiences. No story is so intensely interesting as the one we live. If we could tell it as it is to us, it would be the wonder of all literature. This fact makes true biography a kind of enchantment to the lover of humanity.

Ancestry.

Hannah Webster Bryant, which was Mrs. Manford's maiden name, is connected with several distinguished families. Her father, William Bryant, was a cousin of William

Cullen Bryant. A brother of the poet, who lives in Princeton, Ill., has an acquaintance who on meeting her a year or two since, remarked that she quite resembled Mr. Bryant of Princeton; this he said without knowing that she was of the family. The likeness of one of her brothers has been taken for that of the poet. So strongly do the Bryant features persist in holding their way down through the generations. It is a long lived race. William Cullen lived to ninety-one, and then died from a sun-stroke. William, Mrs. Manford's father, died at ninety-two. His oldest son at eighty-seven. Many of his relatives lived to a great age.

Her middle name, Webster, was given her by her father to commemorate the family name of his second wife, who was a cousin to Daniel Webster. An older sister, *Emily Worcester Bryant*, was given her middle name to perpetuate a family name from another ancestral line. Her mother, Annah Spaulding, of Vermont, was a direct descendant of some of the historic families of the Puritans. It is something to be well born. It is an old saying that blood will tell. It is certain that blood has its mission.

William Bryant, her father, was of Massachusetts, and spent his early manhood in that state. He went to Vermont from Newburyport, and became a farmer, manufacturer and merchant, in which three-fold business he accumulated a large estate. His first wife died early, with her only child. By his second wife he had seven children. At her death he was left desolate in his home, yet rich in material possessions. Some time after, he became acquainted with Miss Annah Spaulding, a daughter of a wealthy family. Her parents did not approve of the intimacy that followed, because they had other plans for their daughter, and did not like the prospect of her becoming

the step-mother of seven children. Her father declared that he should disinherit her if she married Mr. Bryant. But woman's love and will are hard to thwart. One day Mr. Bryant rode into the front yard of her father's house at a rapid speed, leading a splendid white horse equipped with a side-saddle. As soon as he came, Miss Annah, mantled and bonneted, rushed out to meet him, and was quickly galloping away to the minister, who married them and sent them on their way to their fine home. In this spirit she went to her duties, and those seven children, when men and women grown, all said no mother could be truer and kinder than she was to them. At the time of Mr. Bryant's third marriage he was a fine looking man, above medium size, and dressed elegantly in the showy costume of his time—knee-breeches, shoe-buckles and ruffles—a prize that any womanly heart might covet. Annah was of medium size, healthy, active and rosy.

Things went on prosperously for a few years with them, but like many successful and generous men, Mr. Bryant signed largely the paper of a friend, who failed and carried his bondsman down with him. After a lengthy struggle and experience of many sorrows, he gathered up what was left of the wreck of his fortune and went into the Mohawk valley, in the State of New York. Annah's father kept his threat and gave her nothing, even in her time of greatest need.

Birth and Childhood.

The seventh child of this third marriage of Mr. Bryant is the subject of this sketch. She was the fifteenth of his children. Two more were afterwards born. If it is true that large families tend to make considerate and helpful children, the Bryant children were born into excellent opportunities. Our little Hannah opened her eyes in the

midst of the beautiful scenery of the Mohawk valley, in the town of Schuyler, Herkimer county. Her first remembrance of water and sandy shore and pebbly bottom was of this river, along which the older children led her, and by which she picked up from its sandy beach a little copper kettle, lost there by the Indians, and long kept in her family as a relic. This was when she was about three years old. A little before she remembers being led up the aisle of the church by her parents, who carried her younger brother, then a babe, to baptism. Her parents were members of the Presbyterian church, and christened her with a good bible name. During her fourth year she gave her parents an infallible proof of what their theology called her total depravity. Her older sisters had promised to take her with them to gather strawberries. On a bright day they stole away from her and fastened the doors, leaving her in the house. When she found how they had cheated her out of her long-coveted pleasure, she went to her favorite sister's room and brought several nice articles of her wearing apparel, and threw them into the fire. There was a commotion when the sister found what the child had done, but the mother stood between them, as mothers usually do on such occasions, and nothing came of it beyond the storm of the hour. It was long remembered as Hannah's bold revenge upon her sister for cheating her out of her promised strawberry ramble.

Not long after this her father went to the Genesee valley and took up a large tract of land, which he afterwards lost. Of this purchase and loss an older sister writes: "Father bought, or bargained for, a large tract of land from government, which was to be his when it came into market. He built on it and improved it in many ways, spending years of hard labor on it, expecting to give

each child a farm from it. But some land-sharks, knowing the value of it, undermined him, and it was swept from him, and he had no redress but to leave it, and thus our family was broken up, never more to be united on earth."

Here the heroine of this sketch went, a little girl some five or six years old. She was small of her age, but healthy and vigorous, and a lover of all out-doors. She had always had her freedom, and used it as one born to the enjoyments of the woods and fields. She had a younger brother when she went to this place. Another was soon born; and in a few years these brothers became her companions in out-door sports. They were her soldiers; she was their general. The woods, the waters, the sugar-bush and all the fields offered rare opportunities for building, sailing, digging, climbing, in all of which she was master and manager. She used the ax, saw, hatchet or hoe, because she was the oldest and could do it best. In one of these sugar-bush frolics, when she was attempting to split a piece of board, one of the little brothers put his hand in the way of her ax, and a finger was nearly cut off. The men from the sugar-camp and the doctor from the village had to be summoned to repair the painful mishap. The wounded finger grew together, but an ugly scar always told the story of Hannah's careless ax.

Soon after this, and perhaps as a result of it, she overheard her father say to her mother: "Isn't it about time for you to keep that girl in the house and teach her to knit?" This freedom, partly joyous and partly useful, was her life, and had given her health, vigor, a planning mind and a dextrous hand. One day it was needful for her mother to go away; the older girls were absent from home; who should get the dinner? "I can do it," said Hannah. "A boiled dinner" was to be got, a somewhat

intricate dish of various meats and vegetables. She had never prepared a dinner or done much in the house. Her mother gave directions and went away. Now Hannah was mistress of the house—just what she liked. She did not doubt but she could get a dinner as well as make a raft or climb a tree. So about the dinner she went, and in due time she had it ready, when her well-blown horn called the men from the field. One of the older brothers always persisted in saying "it was the best boiled dinner ever cooked in that house."

Near this farm was a village of a remnant of the Tonewanta Indians. Mr. Bryant soon became their friend and counselor, their medicine man, lawyer and judge. The Bryant children became familiar with the Indians. Hannah learned to send the arrow from the bow as skillfully as the little red children; and the study of their wild ways was a part of her early education.

Thus far she had not been to school, though she had learned to read at home. About this time she was sent to the village of Avon to school for three months. Before leaving home her oldest sister, the oracle of the family, gave the unsophisticated child the following earnest but withering charge: "Hannah, you are going among strangers, and you are such a homely little thing you must learn to be very amiable in your ways, and very polite and pleasant, in order to make people love you." It was a charge which struck like an arrow into her heart, but which she has never been able to forget, or fail to try to put in practice.

The hopes about the farm and the family home perished in a failure to get a title, or pay for improvements; and the home had to be broken up. But life here was not lost. The home was happy, christian, profitable, and did

its work in the hearts of all the children. Previous to the breaking up of the family, the eldest brother had married and settled near Canandaigua, New York. His wife was a choice woman, who at once conceived an affection for Hannah, and wished to take her to her home; and after due consideration of the matter, at the age of nine, she went to live with her brother; Mr. Bryant, still craving a great landed estate, went, with the children not yet married, to the Western Reserve in Ohio.

Education.

In the home of her brother and his excellent wife, Hannah found a most cordial welcome. Their minds were soon filled with plans for her education. The neighborhood was an excellent one, with a good district school and a church going community. The brother's wife was a fine singer and a great help in the church. There was a baby in the family which became Hannah's delight, and in the care of which she could be useful, which element in her character appeared very early. All these pleasant things made her new home very delightful, and not less profitable, as a part of her education. School opened to her a new life of thought and ambition.

Yet, even in this, her love of freedom would show itself. An instance of this occurred one summer when the school had a very devout teacher who closed her school every day with a long and sometimes dismal prayer. She would have the children put away their books, get ready to start for home, then give themselves to her religious exercise and go home with this on their minds. One day, Hannah and the young girl that sat with her, became restless, and as a low open window by their seats invited their exit, they silently slid out and scud through the grain-field back of

the school-house towards their home, leaving the rest, when the prayer should close, to come out the good orderly way.

There were two schools within her reach; when one was not in session the other often was; so she received the benefits of both. The spelling schools, exhibitions and dramatic and recitative occasions, very much stimulated her efforts.

This happy process of development lasted some four years; when this good woman who had been to her friend, mother and sister, all in one, sickened and died, leaving three little daughters, the youngest eleven months old. It was a great blow upon the young girl's heart, and filled her mind with a thousand questions about death and the life beyond. At the funeral of the sister-in-law, Rev. Oliver Ackley, a noted universalist clergyman, officiated. His prayer so comforted her that she ever after felt a strong leaning to his doctrines. She knew her brother was a universalist; but as his wife was a congregationalist, and they regularly attended orthodox meetings, he said but little about his opinions.

The care of the family in good part now came upon Hannah, until her brother married again. Then there was no longer the home feeling for her in his house; and she resolved upon being a teacher, which she became when sixteen years of age and alternately taught a district school and attended a select school or ladies' seminary, till she was eighteen.

Religious Conviction.

While attending the ladies' seminary at Attica, New York, during her eighteenth year, our young student and teacher heard Rev. T. C. Eaton preach a universalist sermon which thoroughly aroused her to the truth of univer-

salism, and so wrought upon her that she felt herself not only convinced of that doctrine, but converted to the christian religion. It was a soul-transformation. From that time she defended the universalist interpretation of christianity as the true one. Through all her years since, she has held fast to her faith, and found guidance and consolation during all her trials and sorrows, in its blessed strength.

Goes to Illinois.

The favorite sister (the one whose clothes she cast into the flames) having married and gone to Michigan, was desirous of having Hannah with her, begged her to come on and go with them to Illinois, where they had concluded to settle. So westward she turned her course, and identified herself very soon with the educational interests of the state of her adoption. She began her work in Joliet, as a teacher of a select school. While there she formed the acquaintance of Miss Seraph Warren, who was also a teacher in that place. In sentiment, character and religious opinion they were so one that they desired to work together. They formed a partnership and went to Danville, Vermillion county, and opened a select school, in which they were thoroughly successful. But after awhile it began to be talked that they were universalists. That was terrible, the people thought; could it be so? It proved to be as bad as the first rumors. Two universalist ladies were teaching the orthodox children and youth of Danville! It was a shocking thing, and the talk was furious about it. The first thought with many was to withdraw their children, but the children could see no reason for it, and persisted in loving their teachers and their school. At length the storm began to lull. The more considerate people saw the absurdity of persecuting ladies

who were so acceptably prosecuting their important work.

Their success in Danville was so marked that they were solicited and urged to return north and open a ladies' seminary in Warrenville, the home of Miss Warren. They accepted the invitation, and made the seminary a popular and widely patronized institution.

Marriage.

While these teachers were at Danville, a Universalist church was dedicated at Perryville, Indiana, fifteen miles away. They were invited by one of their students to ride over. One of the clergymen who assisted in the dedication was Rev. Erasmus Manford, who was publishing a paper at Lafayette, called the "Christian Teacher." They were introduced to him, and received an invitation to write for his paper. They sent him occasional articles. This was the beginning of their literary ventures. The result of these ventures was not altogether unusual, for they led the young editor to find a wife in one of these correspondents. The marriage took place July 2, 1844. The ceremony was performed by Rev. W. W. Dean, then one of the active ministers of the Universalist church. They were married in Wilmington, Illinois, at the home of the sister with whom she came to the state. It was a time of great floods, and no railroads, and the minister had to swim a creek to get to the wedding. (For an account of the wedding trip see page 180 of this volume.)

Terre Haute.

They went to Terre Haute, where Mr. Manford had moved his paper. This city seemed to them a sort of paradise at that time, high and dry above all floods, charm-

ingly located on the east bank of the Wabash river, and named for its situation *High Ground.* It was well laid out, abundantly supplied with shade trees, and had many pleasant streets and homes. Among the pleasantest of these were the street and house into which they went to live.

Mr. Manford was a traveling preacher and editor, and was soon off to fill his appointments, leaving Mrs. Manford to fold her hands in the bliss of having nothing to do. After a few weeks she went one day to his office and found him mailing papers. Looking on a little while, she said: "Why can't I do that as well as you? I believe I can write better than you do." She insisted on trying it, and so slipped her hand into a noose that has held her fast ever since. She soon began to look after the book-keeping, proof-reading, and to make herself so generally useful that she became a necessity in this self-imposed work.

At this time Mr. Manford had a partner who had charge of the office and the manual labor of getting out the paper. She saw in a little while that the paper was the result of her husband's brain and toil, and that he was dividing an income that was chiefly his own. So she began to talk about an end of this one-sided partnership. When this was effected, she became the essential partner of her husband in business, as well as in conjugal life. This partnership in fact, though without the name, has continued with only a few breaks ever since. He has occasionally taken in other partners, though always with unsatisfactory results to both parties. When Mrs. Manford had an oversight of the business interests in Mr. Manford's absence, the expenses were lighter, and the stream of profit, though always small, flowed wholly into their family treasury. Mr. Manford's uniform success in making his publications profitable, has been greatly promoted by her uniform co-

operation. Very largely she has been the pilot at the wheel who in all weathers and all storms, has stood faithfully at her post. Of course, the pilot is not the captain and crew, but these make uncertain progress without the firm hand on the wheel.

Indianapolis.

From Terre Haute the Manfords moved to Indianapolis, to be at the capital of the state, the more easily to reach every part in his travels. The subscription list grew rapidly, and the paper became more and more important and influential. Their bow of promise was bright. They built a house and entered upon housekeeping, the ever delightful experience of young married people. What a charm has the first meal in one's own home! How ever-remembered is the first night under one's own roof! A new home of their own; their paper growing in favor; finances improving; young love and hope spreading pictures before them; why should they not see a roseate future immediately before them?

A New-Comer.

Into the midst of this fair promise there came a tiny, little girl, whom they named Mae Manford. She soon became an important personage; broke into the usual systematic arrangements of business, and made help necessary, which resulted in a partnership with Rev. Hiram Torrey. He was hopeful and large-visioned, and soon thought that Cincinnati, the Queen City of the West, was none too large for so important a paper, and to that city it was taken, Mr. Torrey to be editor and office manager.

Mae was but a few months old when Mrs. Manford was aken severely ill, which brought sickness in a little while

to the child also. Two of her sisters came to care for them. Great anxiety was felt lest mother and child should fail to recover. But at length, by the care of friends and the skill of physicians, both came up from death's door.

This was in 1849, the first season of the cholera in Cincinnati. That terrible scourge, then so little understood, was very fatal. Many took alarm and left the city for rural retreats far away; among them the new partner and editor. The office business suffered; the editing was poorly done; bills accumulated; subscribers dropped off.

Mr. Manford learning how things were going, hastened to Cincinnati and sold the paper to Rev. J. A. Gurley, then publisher of the "*Star in the West.*"

Mrs. Manford's long sickness, the unfortunate partnership, the removal to Cincinnati and the cholera alarm, left him much embarrassed. That bright bow of promise rapidly faded.

Saint Louis.

In 1850, Mr. Manford went to St. Louis and started The Golden Era. Mrs. Manford soon followed and took up her old occupation of manager and silent partner, while her husband traveled and preached far and wide, spreading the gospel of grace and salvation.

The new paper did fairly well, but it was a struggle to get it established. It was a new field for Universalist literature. By conversation, preaching and discussion, Mr. Manford had to convert many to his faith before they would become patrons to his paper. It was a slow, toilsome work, persevered in against great difficulties. Mrs. Manford had an equal struggle to do her part in that great and expensive city. But with faith and courage equal to all their difficulties, they persevered and succeeded.

Soon after going to St. Louis, they joined with the few

Universalist friends there in a movement to found a church. Rev. G. S. Weaver was secured as pastor in 1852. The work was continued with excellent results till the rumors of war and the financial depression that preceded the war, made it seem best to suspend operations for a time. Then the war came to break up and scatter the little happy church family.

Mrs. Manford became deeply interested in the religious life and work of this church. She united with it, and took her little Mae to the altar with her, and mother and child received together the water of baptism, symbolical of conversion to the spiritual life. It was one of the most impressive occasions of her life, and marked an era in her religious experience. The church and union with it, its rites and uses, became clearer in their meaning and usefulness to her than before.

Another Turn.

While engaged on the Golden Era, they built a house, which, after a year or two, was burned, and they rebuilt. Soon after this the Golden Era was sold, and Mrs. Manford took the occasion to visit some among friends. During one of these visits to Louisiana and Hannibal, Missouri, she received a pressing invitation to open a school in Louisiana. As Mr. Manford was away nearly all the time, and she had no special employment, she saw no way to be more useful, and so opened a school, and took her daughter with her as one of the pupils. It was successful; and after a year was left in the hands of a subordinate teacher.

The Monthly Magazine.

In 1857 *Manford's Monthly Magazine* was started. This was a new move. It had no list of subscribers. So Mr.

Manford started into the field again. It was like a new child born into the family to be fed, clothed and cared for. It was a good move, and worked well. The people liked the form and price. He was successful in getting subscribers, and in serving up the intellectual repast; she in giving the magazine the embellishments of her brain and hand. From his field of labor he sent back frequent theological articles, accounts of travels, discussions, curious experiences, giving the magazine great interest among its readers. It soon came to have a constituency of its own. It was a monthly, and interfered with no weekly. It was a pamphlet, and could be preserved and bound. From the start it gave evidence of a successful career. They soon felt that they had struck the vein to work while they could work.

The War of the Rebellion.

But just as the magazine had got to doing well, the war broke out, and the mails in the south, where they had several thousand subscribers, ceased to be carried, and Mr. Manford had to turn his face north and north-west for patrons, and move his family and paper away from the presence of army operations. They went to Chicago and made another strong push. In a few years the *Magazine* was well established again, by the old process of travel on his part, and editorial work on her part. Their bow of promise became bright again. They built a house in Chicago and set up their home again under their own roof. Not long had they been in this, before the Chicago fire broke out and burned their office and all their fixtures and books, except their list of subscribers, which their faithful clerk had taken to her home for the night. Several thousand dollars of their hard earned property perished. Now, they had met floods, sickness, cholera, war and fire, and

lost heavily by them all; but, undaunted, they held on their way of hard and faithful work for the cause dear to their hearts, and again built up their magazine to a prosperous condition. Through all these years in Chicago, as before, Mrs. Manford continued her work for the magazine, managing its affairs in her husband's absence, and assisting in its editorial work.

Outside Works.

In Chicago, as in St. Louis, Mrs. Manford has found great pleasure and profit in doing what she could for the church of her choice. Constant in her interest and help, she has promoted its affairs by every personal endeavor. For several years, as president of "The Ladies' Aid Society" of the Church of the Redeemer, she contributed to the prosperity of that church, which has long been her spiritual home, and which she cherishes with great affection. As an evidence of the affection being mutual, the following graceful acknowledgment of a gift, over her initials, appeared in the *Magazine*, April, 1876:

A Surprise.—Our home was visited on the evening of the fourth of March by a large number of the good people of the Church of the Redeemer, and other friends from various parts of the city. They came full-handed and full-hearted. Immediately we were placed in the center of a charmed circle of some seventy generous souls, who, with Rev. Sumner Ellis for the presentation speech, made us a gift of an elegant and costly gold watch and chain, bearing this inscription:

"Mrs. H. B. Manford,
From
the Friends of the
Second Universalist Society,
Chicago, March 2d,
1876."

The surprise was too great for us to command language, and we delegated our response to the Hon. Willard Woodard, who is always happy in impromptu speeches. Mr. H. S. McLain followed with some *timely* remarks. The evening passed pleasantly with music and conversation. They brought their caterers, and a most beautiful and bountiful table was spread.

Long may the pleasant relations with the dear people continue; and may *friendship's chain* grow brighter as *time* wears away. H. B. M.

During seven years she was president of The Universalist Women's Association of Illinois. The object of this association is to aid the missionary and educational causes connected with the Universalist church. It has held many series of gospel meetings, revived many languishing churches, and been in many ways helpful to the cause. It gave material aid in establishing the Boarding Hall connected with Lombard University, and in renewing the cabinet and library of that institution. In all these works Mrs. Manford was a most inspiring leader. Aside from these constant labors at home and for her church, she has found time for occasional lectures and addresses on the subjects of temperance and education, before temperance and college and literary societies. Three subjects have so held her abiding interest through nearly all of her adult life as to be a part of her religion. Her judgment, her heart and her conscience have been thoroughly enlisted in them. They are education, temperance and woman's elevation. With voice, pen and hand she has been anxious to do what she could to promote what she has regarded as humanity's great causes. Although home and business duties have largely occupied her mind and hands, she has found frequent opportunities to do much outside work as a charitable contribution to the world's improvement.

Her Home.

Mrs. Manford has always been a lover of home. No public career, however successful, could have won her from home and its sanctities; and the heartiness of much of her work has come from a desire for the comforts and pleasures of a good home. The domestic affections were born in her, and the virtues that grow out of them she has cultivated with assiduous care. Misfortunes in many forms have baffled these desires, but not defeated them, for during the greater part of her married life she has presided over her own home, and for several years has enjoyed a commodious and well appointed home, where she has dispensed hospitalities with a free hand and a happy heart, as all know who have crossed its threshold.

It has been said that literary women are careless housekeepers and without taste in dress; but this is not true of her. She is painstaking and faultless in both particulars.

As a mother, she has been happy in her daughter, who has never been separated from her, but who, since her marriage with Dr. Norman Bridge, in 1874, has lived in the city, at a convenient distance from home, and now resides in a substantial and elegant home of her own, but a few blocks from her parents.

Personal Qualities.

Mrs. Manford was a petite child; small in her youth; is below the medium stature as a woman. She is firmly built, and in the enjoyment of excellent health.

Her leading characteristics are, conscientiousness, earnestness, benevolence and religious devotion. Possessing a fund of good nature, she is warm-hearted and true to her friends, and as true to her convictions of right, conscientiousness giving color to all her motives and actions. With

a versatility of talent, progressive in thought, joyous in spirit, she has through all these years held her position in the world's work with a wonderful power.

Thus has run on this human life from its little beginning in New York, through its years of development and struggle in this growing west; growing itself through all its years, serving and being served, a power for good, an example of womanly grace and worth, a comfort and joy to her many friends—to go on when her summons shall come to the better home, in the faith and hope which her life has so loyally illustrated.